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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

## JANUARY 22, 1906.

### BIG CONFERENCE TO ARRANGE MONSTER DEMONSTRATION MEETS IN NEW YORK CITY—SEVENTY DELEGATES ATTEND.

Thirty Organizations Represented—Determination to Push Plan: Successful Issue Evidenced by All—English, Russian, Jewish and Italian Speakers to Address Revolutionary Audience—More Letters Received, and Cities Heard from.

The first conference, called by Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, to arrange a monster demonstration to be held on January 22, at Grand Central Palace, to affirm the solidarity of the American working class with that of Russia, and to give the latter both moral and financial support, showed, by the large number of delegates present (70), representing 30 working class organizations, that January 22 will be a memorable day in the history of the Socialist movement.

The organizations reported on favorably by the Credential Committee were: Socialist Labor Party Sub-Divisions: First, Third and Fifth A. D.'s, Sixth and Tenth A. D.'s, Eighth and Twelfth A. D.'s, Sixteenth A. D., Nineteenth and Twenty-first A. D.'s, Twenty-second and Twenty-fourth A. D.'s, Twenty-sixth A. D., Thirty-third A. D., Thirty-fifth A. D.; Brooklyn: Sixteenth A. D.; the Excelsior Educational Society; Italian Socialist Federation, Socialist Labor Club, Hungarian Socialist Organization, S. L. P. Educational Club.

The following branches of the Industrial Workers of the World and other progressive labor organizations also had delegates seated: Garment Workers' Local 61, Hotel Workers, Local 130, International Musical Union, Machinists' Local, Cigar Workers' Local, Store and Office Workers, Local 58, Building Trades, Local 95, Capmakers, Local 177, Ladies Tailors' Local, Bronx Industrial Union, Coat Makers' Local (Brooklyn), Local 1011, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers, and the Independent Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

The conference organized itself with the following officers: J. Scherer, Thirty-fourth A. D., S. L. P., president; P. Augustine, Building Trades Local, I. W. W., vice-president; L. Pilout, secretary, and H. Dobinsky, sergeant-at-arms.

The first thing taken up for discussion was the question of "How best to promote the success of the January 22 demonstration." The delegate of the Independent Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union presented a recommendation from that union, that the Socialist party be invited to assist in arranging the demonstration. After considerable discussion it was decided to elect a committee to draft an invitation to Socialist Labor Party branches and other labor organizations asking them to participate in the demonstration.

The matter of how to advertise the demonstration most effectively was next taken up and discussed. It was decided to elect a committee of three, one speaking English, one Italian, and one Jewish, to draw up short circulars in these languages. The Italian delegate stated that his organization would distribute at least twenty thousand circulars in the Italian language. The committee elected were Abel Fanchi, 75 McDougal street, Samuel French, 137 Willis avenue, and S. Moskowitz, 397 Columbia street.

It was further decided to engage five speakers, as follows: two English speakers to make the principal addresses, and also a Jewish, an Italian and a Russian speaker to make short speeches in their respective languages. The city executive committee of Section New York, S. L. P., was authorized to select the speakers. A motion was passed that the delegates impress upon their respective organizations the necessity of the organizations making immediate donations to defray the expenses of the demonstration. Lazarus Abelson, organizer of Section New York, was elected treasurer.

A committee was elected to visit the Musicians' Union, to ask them to volunteer to furnish music for the opening of the meeting.

The collection taken to defray the expenses of the conference amounted to \$4.

The next conference will take place on Sunday, January 14, 3 p. m., at the same place, Manhattan Lyceum Annex, 15 East Third street. Those organizations which failed to elect delegates and those delegates who failed to attend, are requested not to fail at the next conference, as there is still a great

## LONDON LETTER

### ON THE COLLAPSE OF THE TORY GOVERNMENT.

The English Electoral Situation, and What It Signifies to Capitalists and Workers—Activity of British S. L. P.

(Special Correspondence.)

London, Dec. 25.—The expected has happened. The Tory Government has handed in its cheques. It has dominated this glorious empire on whose bright expanse the sun never casts its spots, ever since 1886, with the exception of the brief period of the weak, tottering Rosebery-Gladstone administration (1892-95). Even if we take the short-lived Home Rule parliament into consideration, its uninterrupted term of office since then represents a longer stretch of power than any party has held, since the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. Not since the dark days of the reaction during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the days of the Anti-Jacobins and the White Terrorists, of Burke, Pitt and George III. of Braxfield and Dundas, has any party or any government ruled so long, or with a more powerful and decisive majority.

During that term it has painted the map of South Africa red with the blood of the proletarian Briton and the Boer Afrikaner. It has created desolation and called it peace. It has brought about the death of millions of Hindus by its Government-manufactured famines in India, and built up for itself in the pages of the history of that hapless land a monument compared with which Tamurlaine's pyramid of skulls pales into insignificance. Its twenty years' reign has been a period of growth and solidification for the capitalist class. It has seen the genesis of the Trust system in Britain. The power of the great capitalist has increased enormously; the small producers have died off like flies, and the worker has been thrust deeper and deeper down into the mire of servitude. There are close on a million men unemployed throughout the country.

The tables have been turned completely upon the old Liberal Party. They are now the politically descended party of the parliament men who fought the battle of the Third Estate against the monarchy; from Oliver Cromwell's puritans who brought "the man Charles Stuart" to the scaffold and founded a republic; from the democratic radicals of the late 18th and early 19th century who passed the Reform Acts which thrust the semi-feudal landed aristocracy from their seats as rulers of the realm and enthroned the capitalists in their stead. Originally the party of progress, it has now fallen to the position of champion of little middle class reaction.

The Tory party has also an ancient ancestry. The Tories are the successors of the cavaliers who fought by the King's side at Naseby and Marston Moor; of the Jacobite squires who drank the health of the "King across the water," and went "out" in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 for the hopeless cause of the exiled Stuart pretenders; of the "good, old English gentlemen," those gouty, crusty, apoplectic land owners, who supported that pigheaded idiot George III. in his brilliant colonial policy and whose sole contribution to political discussion was to thump the floor with their sticks and say "Dumme, sir!" Sprung from an ancestry of reactionists, obscurantists and fanatical defenders of lost causes, the Tories are to-day the party of advanced capitalism.

It came about in this way. The reform acts and the repeal of the Corn Laws broke the back of the landed aristocracy, the first politically, the second economically. From being the rulers of the realm with the House of Peers exclusively theirs and with two-thirds of the representation in the House of Commons in their breeches pocket, they sank to the position of a faction of the propertied classes—a favored faction it might be, but none the less a faction only. At this point the Tory party had the choice either of pursuing its old course as if nothing had happened and becoming a back number in consequence, or of attaching itself to the new economic interests, hiring itself out to new masters, so to speak. It chose the latter alternative. Under the leadership first of Peel, and secondly of Disraeli, by far the greatest capitalist statesmen of the 19th century, the Tory Party became transformed into a powerful and efficient agent of capitalist interests. Since the

middle of the nineteenth century the large capitalists have bit by bit transferred their allegiance to the Tories, leaving the Liberals with merely the middle class rump. The Liberal Party's position appears to be analogous to that of the Democrats in the States. It is a Cave of Adullam, a heterogeneous collection of little middle class factions, struggling hopelessly against the stream, ground to powder between the upper and nether millstones of the big capitalists and the working class, possessing all the vices of capitalism, when in power doing in the long run all that a Tory Government would have done, but doing it tardily and ineffectively. The Home Rule Bill forced upon the Liberals in 1885 by the Irish Nationalists completed the process of Liberal disintegration. This policy further alienated the big capitalists, firstly because it ran counter to the new imperialism and secondly because a considerable amount of English capital was sunk in Ireland in the form of mortgages on the land of absentee landlords, which might have been endangered had autonomy been granted to the Irish people. This was the date of the Liberal Unionist secession, a blow from which the Liberal Party has never recovered. At this stage, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, formerly the Jack Cade of the radical party, republican, anti-clerical and anti-landlord, left the Liberals and became the virtual leader of the Conservatives, the friend of archbishops, dukes and duchesses, the subsidizer of the landed aristocracy, and of the church, the apostle of imperialism, the mad mullah of a hundred "little wars" and one big war for the spread of British commerce.

Chamberlain is the genius of English capitalism. He is a perfect type of the class he represents. He is cynically immoral in deed, and hypocritically "moral" in speech. Coarse, brutal, vulgar, avowedly mendacious, his growth in power has been synchronous with the increasing degradation and debasement of English politics. He is an invaluable leader of the capitalists. Were I a capitalist, instead of being a proletarian, I should put all my money on Joe. Through a hundred political transmutations he has always managed to scent out the policy most advantageous to his class at each particular juncture, irrespective of his past deeds or utterances. The baffled and battered Liberals seek, every now and then, to console themselves (and vain thought) make Joseph blush, by comparing his past with his present speeches and declarations. Chamberlain, unperturbed accepts this as a tribute to his greatness, as a proof that he has changed with the times, that he has advanced as the resources and requirements of his class have advanced.

His latest project is Tariff Reform, in other words, protection. The true inwardness of this proposal and the economic interests at the back of it, have been so clearly set forth in a speech by Arthur Balfour at Newcastle the other week that I cannot do better than quote it. Balfour (late prime minister) does not go so far on the path of protection as Chamberlain. He is an Erasmus to Chamberlain's Luther. None the less the whole philosophy of Tariff Reform, whether it be limited to retaliation a la Balfour, or take the form of uncompromising protection a la Chamberlain, is contained in the following declaration:

"There may be members of the party who do not share to the full my views with regard to certain modern industrial developments, who may not feel—as I feel—that the whole course of industrial development is to require larger masses of capital to be concentrated on great staples of industry, working with every modern appliance, and with a very narrow margin of profit.

"Now you won't get these GREAT INDUSTRIAL AGGREGATIONS—working, as I have said, upon narrow margins of profit—if they are to be destroyed from time to time by foreign rivals supported in their own country (N. B.—"country" is in the singular—meaning America) by protective tariffs.

"It is undoubtedly in the interests of the consumer—as it is certainly in the interests of other classes—that there should be no interference in this country with the productive evolution of THOSE GREAT INDUSTRIAL METHODS by foreign rivals depending upon artificial aid given them by the fiscal legislation of their own country."

This is an unequivocal declaration of war against the middle class. Apart from that, the small capitalists know that any temporary competition in the

(Continued on page 2.)

## I W W HEADQUARTERS

### CHARTER NINETEEN NEW LOCALS—DEPARTMENTS STEADILY GROWING.

New Industrial Councils Forming—Chicago Arranges Monster January 22 Demonstration—"The Industrial Worker" Goes to Press.

(Special Correspondence.)

Chicago, Jan. 7.—The following list of charters were granted to locals since my last report: Cloak Makers, Cleveland, O.; Broad Silk Weavers, Paterson, N. J.; Iron Workers, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Carriage and Wagon Workers, Cincinnati, O.; Bakery Workers, Wichita, Kan.; Jewish Ladies Tailors, New York; Bricklayers, Cleveland, O.; Men's Tailors, Chicago, Ill.; Teamsters, Wichita, Kan.; Cigar Makers, Milwaukee, Wis.; Garbage Workers, Spokane, Wash.; Pioneer Mixed, Oakland, Cal.; and Pittsburg, Pa.; Mixed, Evansville, Ind., Montreal, Can., Newport, N. J., Trinidad, Col., Baltimore, Md., and Kalamazoo, Mich.

The Transportation Department reports large local chartered in Jersey City, N. J., and a steady increase throughout the Department.

The Metal Department reports a new local at Cincinnati, O.

A number of new industrial Councils are being formed in cities where there are a number of I. W. W. locals.

The Industrial Council of Chicago, Ill., has arranged a monster demonstration for the Russian Revolutionists. They have secured Aurora Hall for Jan. 22, (Red Sunday). The hall has a large seating capacity and will surely be filled to the doors. Reinstein, of Buffalo, will be the main speaker. He will be assisted by a number of local speakers.

The A. F. of L. lost a golden opportunity when it failed to organize the Garbage Workers of Spokane. Here was one organization Uncle Sammie (sic) could have pointed to with pride, as it is impossible for them to have jurisdiction squabbles unless it would be with the rag pickers. However "Sammie" can watch out in the future and capture them in other places.

The organ of the I. W. W.—"The Industrial Worker" will go to press this week. It will be a sixteen page paper and some of the best writers in the country will contribute to its columns.

Rex.

### DEBS ON NEW YORK AFFAIRS.

[The following passage from an article by Eugene V. Debs in the current issue of the Chicago "Socialist" fits the A. F. of L. capmaker leaders exactly.]

The cry has gone up in New York that the Industrial Workers is organizing scabs. The charge, needless to say, is absolutely false. It is the croak of the grafter, or nest of grafters, that have been uncovered. It is the last appeal to their dupes. The grafting little leaders who make this cry do not dare to meet the officers of the Industrial Workers before the rank and file of the working class. The simple truth is that the disgusted unionists are deserting their old craft concerns, in which they have been repeatedly betrayed, and through which their leaders, in collusion with their bosses, have a mortgage on their bodies and souls—and are joining the Industrial Workers, and the moment they do this BY THE PECULIAR PROCESS OF REASONING OF THE GRAFTER, WHO SEES HIS BOOTY VANISHING, THEY BECOME SCABS. The fact is that they are the best of unionists, and this is proven in their determination to turn their backs upon unions that betray the working class, and their faces toward a revolutionary economic organization that has been organized to fight fakirs of all descriptions and emancipate the toilers of the nation from the hell of industrial slavery.

### IMPORTANT NOTICE.

The Weekly People of January 20th, containing Debs' speech, will go to press a day earlier than usual, and will be in the hands of readers pretty much all over the country by January 22nd, the date for holding demonstrations in commemoration of the birthday of our comrades, the proletariat of Russia. Sections and others, desiring to use that issue of the paper for propaganda purposes at their demonstrations should rush in their orders now.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

## SCANDINAVIAN CONVENTION

### GIVES ROUSING ENDORSEMENT TO THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Recognizes the Two Organizations as Mutually Necessary to the Ultimate Emancipation of Labor—Resolves to Make its Press Party Owned, by Surrendering Entire Plant and Title to S. L. P.—Three Days of Energetic and Enthusiastic Work for Socialism.

The Scandinavian S. L. P. Federation met in convention at Emrich's Hall, 214 East 41st street, New York City, Dec. 30 and 31, 1905, and January 1st, last. The delegates assembled represented branches located at New York City, Boston, Springfield, Worcester, Lynn and Everett, Mass., Providence, R. I., Bridgeport, New Britain and Hartford, Conn. This convention was the Federation's third annual, including the first one, at which the Federation was launched.

The convention was opened by the National Secretary, Fred Hanson. His opening remarks were very brief. He said: "Owing to the great volume of work before us, I deem it out of place to at this juncture make any lengthy remarks. You have all a fair conception of what we are here for. Let us, therefore, immediately organize this convention and go to work." The convention thereupon organized itself and went to work for almost three full days, allowing only sufficient time for meals and rest. C. E. Nylan of New York City, served as chairman for the first two days and Alexander Hedlin of Bridgeport, Conn., for the third day; A. H. Lyzell of New York City, served as the convention's secretary throughout its entire session.

The secretary's report over last year's work showed marked progress. Four branches had been added to the organization and two had lapsed.

Almost the entire first day was taken up by a discussion upon the following question:

"Is it a fact that our organization, by the agitation it carries on, supports the Socialist Movement and thus aids and strengthens the struggle for emancipation of the American proletariat?—or, is it possible that this organization and its activity, owing to existing peculiar conditions, is harmful and works as a hindrance to the Labor Movement of America?"

The convention answered the question by the following resolution:

"We fully recognize that our emancipation, the emancipation of the American proletariat, is entirely dependent upon the industrial and political movements of the American proletariat, but we consider it necessary that an agitation for such a movement be carried on in the Scandinavian tongues. We therefore pledge ourselves to ever keep this American Movement in mind, to ever support it and ever carry on an agitation in our mother tongue for it. And we, here assembled delegates, do pledge ourselves to within our respective branches make it known to our comrades that their first duty is to participate in the work within the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Labor Party. We hold, as a result of these premises, that our organization does aid the struggle for emancipation by the American proletariat."

The main part of the work before the convention consisted in revising the constitution so as to bring it in harmony with the Industrial Workers of the World which had been organized since the Federation's last convention. The question of devising ways and means for a systematic distribution of our party press and literature, also consumed quite a portion of the convention's time.

One of the most important matters disposed of was an offer to the Federation by the Scandinavian Socialist Publishing Association, the publishers of the Swedish S. L. P. organ, "Arbetaren," to turn that organ over to the Federation. The committee handling the matter submitted a proposition, in order to safeguard the policy of "Arbetaren" as a Socialist Labor Party organ, that the convention accept the offer, and that it agree to turn all property, title of paper, mail list and all tools used in publishing the paper, over to the Socialist Labor Party, said party to become the legal owner of same; the whole matter to be submitted to a referendum vote of the Federation.

A committee of two, Birger Knutson and Arvid Olson, was elected to present the Federation's proposition before the N. E. C. of the S. L. P.

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A. H. Lyzell was re-elected for the ensuing year as editor of "Arbetaren," and Boston was nominated as the seat of the Executive Board of the Federation for the year 1906.

The committee on resolutions offered at the close of the convention, the following two resolutions which were adopted:

"We, the delegates of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation, in convention assembled, at New York City, Dec. 30, 1905, in regard to the Federation's position on the Industrial and Political Movement of Labor in America, do make the following declaration of principles:

"Labor is at present only a merchandise sold upon the market as all other articles of merchandise. The price of the merchandise Labor is governed by the same law of supply and demand that governs all other articles of merchandise. The workingman is forced, in order to gain the means of an existence verging on point of starvation, to sell his labor power to the capitalist class. The worker's interest is naturally to sell his labor power at as high a price as possible. The interest of the capitalist is to strive to exploit and make as much profit as possible out of the labor power it buys.

"Consequently, the interests of the capitalist and the worker, as well as those of the capitalist class and the working class are diametrically opposed. We, therefore, brand all claims of mutual interests between these two classes, as due, either to a total lack of a logical understanding of existing economic conditions, or as open betrayal, having for its object the misleading of the American proletariat.

"We can, in consequence hereof, only endorse such a Labor Movement upon the industrial field, as is fully planted upon the foundations of the class struggle and that has declared war, tooth and nail, upon the capitalist system; and such an organization that is so organized that it, at the eventual downfall of capitalism, can take charge of the means of production and distribution.

"We believe that, in the Industrial Workers of the World, we have found such an industrial organization, and we therefore urge, yes, we deem it the bounden duty of every workingman who at least realizes that the working class both can and must liberate itself from this degrading system of wage slavery, to join the Industrial Workers of the World."

"We hold that the political movement of Labor is and must be a true and clear reflex of the Labor Movement on the industrial field, based upon the same undeniable fact that the class struggle is absolutely inevitable.

"We further hold that no other way is open for the emancipation of the working class other than the road pointed out by Karl Marx, i. e., Socialism.

"We must, conscious of these facts, support with all means possible, that political party which clearly and uncompromisingly represents the above principles. We have in the Socialist Labor Party found such a political organization. We, therefore, declare it to be the bounden duty of every workingman to affiliate himself with and work for the Socialist Labor Party.

The convention adjourned at 5 p. m., New Year's Day with three ringing cheers for the S. L. P., the I. W. W., its own Federation and the Russian Revolution.

THIS IS A HUMMER; LET'S HAVE SOME MORE.

New York Labor News Co.—Inclosed find check for \$25, for which send 5,000 copies of the Weekly People of January 20th, that is, the issue containing Eugene V. Debs' speech on Industrial Unionism.

Section Allegheny County, Pa., Per F. A. Uhn. Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 1, 1906.

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# The History of Slavery

[Extracts from a Lecture on "Idealism and Materialism in the Conception of History," by Paul Lafargue.—Translated by the Edinburg Socialist.]

Humanity is guided by the necessities of production and not by ideas of justice, conscious or unconscious; and as a demonstration of this I know of nothing more convincing than the history of slavery.

Slavery, according to the idealists, must both have been introduced by philanthropy and also abolished by philanthropy. Man must have ceased to eat his own kind from the time in which his heart began to glow with love of his fellow creature. . . . In reality the cessation of cannibal feasts can only be attributed to economic causes. At first all the tribe—children, women and men—took part in the repasts; they ate their old relations—to spare them the cares of age and of the savage life, so painful for those who have lost the vigor and elasticity of their members! But when a sojourn in countries abounding in game and fish, the breeding of cattle, and the culture of the earth, made the maintenance of the old possible, they were left to die their beautiful death. But the bodies of the enemies killed on the field of battle, and also the prisoners of war, were still eaten. . . .

Slavery was only introduced when agricultural and industrial production was so far developed that one man's labor could produce sufficient for his own maintenance and something over which could be taken possession of by another individual.

Savage and barbarian tribes, when they were decimated by internal struggles, adopted their prisoners of war to fill up the gaps made in the ranks of their warriors; they adopted them, therefore, to turn them into workers. This adoption of the slave was preserved even among civilized peoples: the Greeks

and Romans received their slaves as members of the family after a religious ceremony which took place before the family altar. The slave gave his name to the family, since the word "family" is derived from the word "fameli," which means slavery. The patriarchal family, in fact, is based on the slavery of women.

In its beginnings slavery is mild: the slave is a companion, almost a friend. Azara, who last century lived for more than ten years among the savage tribes of Brazil and Paraguay, was able to observe slavery in its budding form.

"The Mbayaas (the most warlike tribe of Paraguay) employ," he writes, "the Guarany's to serve them and to cultivate their lands. It is true that this is a very mild kind of slavery; the Guarany's submit to it voluntarily. The masters give few orders, and never use an imperious or commanding tone. They share everything with their slaves, even the carnal pleasures. I have seen a Mbaya shivering with cold allow his Guarany to keep the coverlet which he had taken to cover himself with, not even letting him know that he wanted it."

Slavery as painted for us in the Odyssey, although still establishing friendly master and slave, has already lost its primitive humane character; and in proportion as civilization progresses, as philosophy enlightens mankind, as justice regulates the rights of free citizens, and as morality adorns their vices with precepts, slavery becomes more and more inhuman. In the most glorious times of Athens and of Rome it was intolerable.

Nevertheless, this inhuman and intolerable slavery was accepted by the most idealistic philosophers. Plato introduced slaves into his Utopian Republic, and Aristotle thought that nature marked out certain men for servitude; the God of the Jews and Christians assigned the

race of Ham to furnish slaves. But the Greek thinker, unlike Jehovah, had a faint foresight of the abolition of slavery when machinery should have begun to move and to accomplish of itself the sacred labor, like the tripods of Vulcan.

The clergy, who have learned the art of lying from the study of theology, persistently repeat that Christianity abolished slavery, whilst it was Christianity which introduced it into America and which preserved it in the ancient world. St. Paul sent back the fugitive Christian slaves to their masters, and, like St. Peter, St. Augustine, and the whole sequence of saints of the first centuries, he instructed slaves to obey and faithfully serve their earthly masters, to deserve the favors of the celestial master, the protector of slaves and of despots.

Slavery, which neither Philosophy nor Christianity ever thought of combating, and still less of suppressing, disappeared from the time the means of production became sufficiently developed to make it a precarious and expensive mode of exploiting men. Compare the wages system with slavery. The slave-owner must buy the slave and sustain the losses springing from accident or from death; he is forced to feed his slave even when he falls ill or ceases to work, and to support him in his old age, since he cannot kill him off like a dog. The capitalist is freed from these cares; without unfastening his purse he can procure as many workers as he wishes, and the wage he gives them for the working-day corresponds almost exactly to the sum the slave-owner has to expend on the nourishment of his beast of burden. The Omnibus Companies of Paris spend more on the maintenance of a horse than on the wages of a conductor, and they make their four-footed slaves work much less than their free wage-workers.

It is by economic reasons, and not by sentimental and idealistic fantasies, that it can be explained why capitalists, who exploit free men and women so ferociously, are such ardent abolitionists of slavery.

An ideal has dwelt in the human brain for thousands of years; it is not an ideal of "justice," but an ideal of peace and happiness; an ideal of a society where there should be neither mine nor thine, where all should be for all, where equality and fraternity should be the only bonds uniting mankind. In the troubled epochs of history generous thinkers, such as Plato, More, Campanella, have pictured this ideal society in enchanting Utopias, and heroes have arisen and sacrificed themselves for its establishment.

This ideal is no spontaneous production of the human brain; it is a reminiscence of that Golden Age, that Earthly Paradise, of which religions tell us; it is a far-off souvenir of that communistic epoch through which mankind passed before the introduction of private property.

If the plebeians and the poor of the Greek cities failed in their numerous revolts against the patricians and the rich, to re-introduce the community of goods; if the popular heretical sects of the Middle Ages failed in their repeated attempts to re-establish equality and fraternity on earth, it was because in the time of the Graeco-Latin decadence, as in the last centuries of the Middle Ages the economic phenomena were against a return to the community of goods; instead of aiding such a return, they destroyed the last remnants of communism and developed the elements of bourgeois private property.

The ideal of communism revives with a new flame in our intelligence; but this ideal is no longer a reminiscence; it issues forth from reality and is the reflex of the economic world. We are no

Utopians, nor dreamers like the English Lollards or the plebeians of Greece; we are men of science, not inventing societies, but disengaging them from their capitalist conditions.

If we are communists it is because we are convinced that the economic forces of capitalist production inevitably lead society towards communism.

If we, who are accused of creating classes, demand, on the contrary, their abolition, it is because we know that those necessities of production which imposed the division of men into exploiting and exploited classes, are dissolved.

Aristotle, that giant of thought, predicted that when machines accomplished work by themselves the Free Citizens would no longer have need for slaves to procure them their leisure: if we, on our part, foresee the end of the wages system—that last form of slavery—it is because we know that man possesses the iron slave, the self-propelling machine-tool.

Never in antiquity, never in any epoch, have the Free Citizens possessed such a number of slaves. . . .

The work of these millions of iron-slaves, monopolized by a class incapable of directing and controlling them, engenders the misery of the producers in the midst of the most extraordinary abundance.

But when the means of production, wrenched from the idle and impotent hands of the capitalist class, have become the common property of society, peace and happiness will flourish again on earth, because society will then dominate the economic forces as already it has dominated the natural forces; then, and then only, will man be free, because he will have then become the master of his social destiny.

## A Modern Russian Oath

[The below is a translation of an extract from an article about Lieutenant Schmidt, the famous leader of the recent mutiny at Sebastopol. The article appeared lately in the Vorwarts, of Berlin, the organ of the Socialists of Germany.—B. Reinstein.]

On the background of the grand mutiny of Sebastopol appears, in revolutionary glory, the figure of a man who only yesterday was hardly known to the public, but who now stands out as one of those heroes whom only the greatness of the moment in revolutionary periods shows in their true greatness and places at the head of great movements.

Hardly ten days have passed since Lieutenant Schmidt became suddenly, at an unexpected occasion, a beloved and admired tribune of the people. It is characteristic that it happened on the day of the burial of the victims of the last "constitutional manifesto" of the Czar.

On the 20th of October there was an extraordinary funeral in Sebastopol in which the entire population of the town participated. It was the burial of the peaceful citizens who were shot by the troops on the night of the proclamation of the Czar's manifesto because they

were taking part in a peaceful demonstration in front of the prison gates. Although a crowd of tens of thousands of people assembled at the funeral, perfect order was maintained.

At the urgent request of the members of the municipal council no troops or police appeared at the funeral.

After the bodies of the martyrs were lowered into the ground and the mayor of the town and other persons held appropriate speeches, Lieutenant of Marine Schmidt stepped up to the grave. His appearance drew to him the attention of the entire compact mass of the many thousands of people covering the nearby graves and hills of the cemetery.

In those few days of "freedom" Schmidt had already shown himself as a promising political agitator and a remarkable speaker. Although he was not a member of the municipal council he was invited by the mayor to take part with an advisory voice in the sessions of the council and he made such use of the opportunity that he soon became quite popular in Sebastopol. Schmidt displayed during those days untiring energy; he was the first initiator of the political meetings arranged by the college youth before the manifesto was proclaimed.

When absolute silence reigned, this speaker, exhausted by ceaseless agitation, began in a low voice, trembling with deep emotion:

"Standing at a grave it is proper only to offer prayers, but like prayers are also the words of love, the words of the sacred oath which I am now going to take here with you. When joy over the rising sun of freedom had filled the souls of our departed brethren, at whose grave we are now standing, their first impulse was to hasten as quick as possible to those who are suffering behind the prison bars, who were battling for freedom and who were now, in the hour of general rejoicing, robbed of this greatest treasure. Carrying the message of joy they hastened to deliver it to those imprisoned. They begged to have them released and were killed for it. They were anxious to secure for others the greatest treasure of life, freedom, and were therefore robbed themselves of their very life. . . . A terrible, unheard-of crime! Great calamity which can never be made good! Now their souls are looking down upon us and ask us silently: 'What are you going to do with this treasure of which we are robbed forever? What use will you make of freedom? Can you promise us that

no other victims of despotism will follow us? And we must pacify the restless souls of the departed, we must give them our oath.

"I swear to them," rang out louder his voice, "that not an inch of our conquered human rights will we ever surrender to anybody! I swear!" said the speaker raising his arm.

"I swear!" rang out from the mouths of the many thousand listeners.

"Let us swear to them that we will devote all our work, our soul, our life to the maintenance of our freedom. I swear!"

"I swear!" echoed the crowd.

"Let us swear to them that we will give all our efforts, our whole life, entirely, to the propertyless working people. I swear!"

"I swear!" came back from the multitude. One could hear loud sobbing.

"Let us swear that there shall be among us neither Jew, nor Armenian, neither Pole, nor Tartar, and that from now on we shall all be equal, free brothers of the great free Russia. I swear! I swear!"

And the "I swear" of the crowd rolled over the surrounding hills.

"Let us swear that we will carry their

cause to a successful issue and will secure general suffrage, equal for all! I swear!"

"I swear!" cried the people with determination.

It was not any more a common speaker that stood before the crowd, it was a powerful tribune, whom the assembled tens of thousands were ready to follow wherever he lead.

"Let us swear to them," rang out again from the lips of the speaker, "that if general suffrage will be denied us, we shall again proclaim the general strike throughout Russia. I swear!"

"I swear!" rolled like thunder over the earth.

The speaker had concluded. He was kissed, embraced. A common soldier from the ranks, forgetting the discipline and the speaker's rank as officer, embraced him with enthusiasm. Schmidt disappeared in the crowd.

The same evening Lieutenant Schmidt was arrested by order of the commanding general, Tschuknin and, under strong convoy, was brought, like a common criminal, aboard the battleship "Tri Sviatitelya."

Six days later the battleship "Tri Sviatitelya" raised the red banner of revolution. . . .

elements of the L. R. C. Hardie has had a herculean task up till now in keeping his party together. They are continually hankering after the fleshpots of Liberalism, and this is true of the Independent Labor Party itself, as well as of the merely trade union elements affiliated. The Liberals are quick enough in seeing this and in flattering the self-love of the weaker brethren. Hardie, who is quite enough to see the tactical value of political independence, is persistently snubbed and ignored by the Liberal party and press. Will Crooks, one of the most outstanding members of the L. R. C. M. P.'s, is just as persistently patted on the back. Now Crooks is intellectually a fool. Only the possession of a certain degree of low cunning raises him above the level of actual zanyism. But the man is vain and conceited and will probably succumb ere long to the lures of the Liberals, especially now that they are certain of getting into power. The promotion of Burns makes Hardie's task infinitely more difficult. With characteristic vanity every L. R. C. fakir sees in himself a John Burns in embryo. Already numerous L. R. C. members and candidates have sent messages of congratulation to the "Right Honorable." What makes it all the funnier is the fact that in many cases Burns, as a Liberal Minister, may visit constituencies to speak on behalf of Liberal candidates who are running in opposition to the congratulators. Just watch the influence of

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### LONDON LETTER.

(Continued from page 1.)

sea of commerce, such as would be caused by the introduction of protection, would certainly swamp their already waterlogged vessels. Hence the middle class and the Liberals are Free Traders to a man.

Naturally enough this new move has caused considerable stir in the ranks of the Tory party. Some of them have obstinately refused to abandon free trade, just as some Liberals have gone over to the protectionist side. The late government's resignation of office simply means that they desire a period of freedom from governmental cares in order to close up their ranks and solidify their party to get rid of the unadaptables and gather strength for a new spring. The Liberals will certainly be returned to power at the January General Election, but with a small majority. They will have a short, harassing term of office and will be kicked out in a year or two to make room for a strong Tory government. Protection is merely delayed.

Readers of The People have already been informed of the constitution of the party marshalled by the body called the Labor Representation Committee. The L. R. C. is putting forward between eighty and ninety candidates in January. Of these probably thirty will be elected, possibly a few more. The L. R. C.

is the political reflex of the pure and simple unions of Great Britain. Their motto is "Government of fakirs, by fakirs, in the interest of fakirs." Their candidates are pledged to call themselves "Labor" candidates, to act independently of the Liberals and the Tories, and to act as a labor group in parliament on questions affecting the interests of the trade unions. The party has been created by the Taff Vale Railway dispute and the judicial decision which followed it. The salaries of the fakirs are endangered and they are going to parliament to look after them. The labor fakir, as a parasite on capital, desires to make his status secure. He wishes to obtain the same degree of legal recognition as those other dependent and parasites on capital, the lawyer class. He wishes his share in the plunder and robbery of the worker, to be guaranteed as a constitutional right and not to depend, as at present, on the whim of this or that capitalist.

That this is the real aim of the L. R. C. may be judged from the fact that its members are absolutely at variance on all other points. It contains in the ranks of its candidates, Liberals, Tories, Orangemen, Nationalists, Tolstoyans, "Socialists," Anarchists, Single Taxers, etc., etc. Some of its members support child labor; others oppose it. Some support the eight hour day, some don't. It is as heterogeneous as a Christmas plumpudding and every bit as indigestible.

The Independent Labor Party is affiliated to the L. R. C. Indeed, without the former, the latter would never have reached its present degree of success. The S. D. F. while not affiliated nationally, is affiliated locally in numberless cases. Not that affiliation or non-affiliation makes much difference to the weakness or strength of the S. D. F. program. For example, the election address of Quelch, Editor of Justice, who is being run at Southampton by a local Trades Council with a majority of anti-Socialists, is rather weaker than that of G. N. Barnes, of the L. L. P. and L. R. C., if it is possible to speak of gradations in fakirdom. It is unlikely that any of the five S. D. F. candidates will be returned.

The I. L. P., S. D. F. and L. R. C. have played desperately for the support of the United Irish League, the party of Irish capitalism, small farmerism and clericalism. This party controls the vote of a large body of Irish workers in Scotch and English towns. In most cases they have arranged an entente. The U. I. L. is piqued at the tendency among Liberals to drop Home Rule and its method of retaliation.

It is impossible to write on present political affairs in Britain without alluding to the elevation of "The Right Honorable" John Burns, M. P., to cabinet rank. It is understood, of course, that John Burns is a contemptible traitor to the cause of the working class and a lackey of capital. During the last forty

night I have read of so many denunciations of Burns on the part of other fakirs quite as bad as he, conceived in a spirit of jealousy and envy of his success, that I don't feel inclined to follow their example. Besides, when a labor member enters a capitalist cabinet, members of the S. L. P. are, from that fact alone, immediately able to catalogue him without any further descriptive remarks on my part. The case is different from the Millerand "affaire" in France. Burns does not, like Millerand, bring a party along with him to the support of the government that has given him office. His great natural abilities would make him a brilliant party leader, but his conceit, egotism, selfishness and distrust of others prevent him from forming a party. He belongs to the small labor liberal group, but has invariably fought for his own hand, independently even of these. John Burns' usefulness to capital consists not in his ability to bring anything into his party but in his power to disintegrate what is outside of it.

The L. R. C., as I have said, are fighting for the recognition of fakirdom as a legal and privileged institution in capitalist society. The capitalists, Liberal and Tory, are just as determined not to grant this claim, unless absolutely forced. The success of the fakirs depends upon their cohesion, a most difficult thing to secure when we consider the jealousy of union officials towards each other, and the variegated and confusionistic

elements of the L. R. C. Hardie has had a herculean task up till now in keeping his party together. They are continually hankering after the fleshpots of Liberalism, and this is true of the Independent Labor Party itself, as well as of the merely trade union elements affiliated. The Liberals are quick enough in seeing this and in flattering the self-love of the weaker brethren. Hardie, who is quite enough to see the tactical value of political independence, is persistently snubbed and ignored by the Liberal party and press. Will Crooks, one of the most outstanding members of the L. R. C. M. P.'s, is just as persistently patted on the back. Now Crooks is intellectually a fool. Only the possession of a certain degree of low cunning raises him above the level of actual zanyism. But the man is vain and conceited and will probably succumb ere long to the lures of the Liberals, especially now that they are certain of getting into power. The promotion of Burns makes Hardie's task infinitely more difficult. With characteristic vanity every L. R. C. fakir sees in himself a John Burns in embryo. Already numerous L. R. C. members and candidates have sent messages of congratulation to the "Right Honorable." What makes it all the funnier is the fact that in many cases Burns, as a Liberal Minister, may visit constituencies to speak on behalf of Liberal candidates who are running in opposition to the congratulators. Just watch the influence of

Burns on the L. R. C. during the next year or two. The spectacle will provide a considerable amount of innocent amusement to S. L. P.-ers on both sides of the water.

The Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain is putting forward no candidates at this General Election. In Britain all parliamentary election expenses, including returning officers' fees, must be paid by the candidates. The latter item alone is never less than £100 (\$500) per candidate and may rise as high as £1,000 (\$5,000) according to the area of the electorate and the number of electors. This is quite exclusive of the cost of halls, printing, bills, election agents, etc., etc. This is no barrier to the L. R. C. candidates. They can get the union to foot the bills. The S. D. F. can get as much money from the Tories as they like. It is a notorious fact that Jones, the S. D. F. candidate at Camborne, is being subsidized from that source. Justice denies that the money comes from the Conservative party and says that it has been given them by a wealthy "sympathizer" who prefers to blush unseen. The S. L. P., on the other hand, has to depend upon its members for its finances and to put forward a candidate just now would involve a strain upon our exchequer and the expenditure of money that might be bet-

ter employed in propaganda. Consequently, our manifesto, which will be forwarded to The People next week, calls upon the workers to abstain from voting and organize for the next contest.

The British S. L. P. took part in the November municipal elections at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Leith and Musselburgh. In each case our candidate obtained from ten to fifteen per cent of the total poll.

The struggle is very hard just now for the British S. L. P. We are fighting against a fakirdom of fifty years' standing which is buttressed by tradition and length of years. That is an edifice that cannot be overturned in a day. Fakirdom, political and economic, is on the boom.

Nevertheless, there is no reason for despair. The S. L. P. is becoming better known and commands respect wherever it is encountered. The success of the L. R. C. is phenomenal rather than real. It will not last. The S. L. P. is working, not for present success at any cost, but for the erection of the impregnable fabric of the Socialist Republic. Whether it be hard or easy, whether it take a long or a short time to do, the work must be done and the S. L. P. is here to do it.

WATCHER.



## THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

### TRADES UNION CONVENTION IN ITALY—"JUSTIFICATION" OF NORWEGIAN SOCIALISTS—THRILLING SCENE IN MOSCOW REVOLUTIONISTS' MEETING.

#### ITALY.

The trades union convention took place at Bologna on November 26. Among the resolutions adopted, particular attention should be called to the following, which was adopted almost unanimously:

"The Trades Union Convention considers that the Union, being organized to combat all forms of exploitation and oppression, should not take part, as a Union, either on one side or the other, in the electoral struggle, but should leave to each of its members complete liberty of action, outside of the Union."

#### NORWAY.

The "Ny Tid" (New Time) speaking of the general disappointment caused by the action of the liberal bourgeoisie and the Socialist deputies, deciding in favor of a monarchy, explains this astounding contradiction as follows:

"The thing which above all justifies the dissatisfaction of our Swedish comrades, and of our comrades the world over, is due to certain internal conditions within the Norwegian Social Democracy. But, still, they should give us time here. The Social Democracy as a party, is still comparatively young, too young yet to know fully its resources or its men. It must not be forgotten that the Socialist deputies come from districts where the organization was formed in haste, and where, moreover, the movement is deprived of one of its necessary bases—the trades union organization. Further, the situation is such that in these localities the old and tried element has neither effective control nor directive power. With time, the Social Democracy is sure to surmount these checks on its effectiveness."

#### SERBIA.

The Social Democracy of Bulgaria addresses an appeal to the working class inviting it to unite in an organized demonstration against the government, on account of the proposed new industrial

laws and regulations, and to lay plans for a general strike should the laws be carried.

#### RUSSIA.

The following extract from a letter written from Moscow, shows the spirit which rules the revolutionists there:

"After a meeting of revolutionists, several detachments of the 'Black Hundred' assembled outside, to await the exit of the workmen, and begin their pursuit and butchery. This did not stop our comrades from carrying on their work, and they had the supreme consolation of seeing the masses of the proletarians follow them regardless of the knout, the rifle ball, and the sabre, and obey the every signal of the Social Democracy."

"We were still unprovided with arms, and we had to warn the proletariat from all collision with troops. In spite of our exhortations, they wished to engage the soldiery, trusting in their naked strength. We were obliged to restrain them, saying, 'Comrades, the hour for armed resistance has not yet sounded. Do not answer the provocations; do not cast yourselves prematurely into the danger of massacre. When the decisive moment is come, we will call on you. In the meantime, organize and arm yourselves; spread your agitation, and hold yourselves ready for the supreme hour.' These were the instructions the committee had given us. Unanimously, the speakers of both the minority and the majority recommended armed resistance in the very near future. Large sums were collected with that end in view."

"Into the hats of the comrades placed at the exits, fell some together with gold and silver pieces, and 100 rouble bills. Women tore off their earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and gold chains, and threw them into the common treasure. Some of them threw in their purses, and their whole contents. It was a grand moment, which it is hard to measure in all its sublimity."

## MARRIAGE AND WAGES

### CLEVELAND CAPITALIST USES THE FORMER TO CUT DOWN THE LATTER—A SOCIALIST CONTENTION SUSTAINED.

(Special Correspondence).

Cleveland, O., Dec. 31.—The "workmen's" section of the Cleveland "Plain Dealer" recently contained this article:

"Raise Pay of Married Men in Order to Save Money."

"By G. E. Newmeyer."

"If you are in business and want to have and keep good employees and pay them lower salaries on the average than at present, offer each one that gets married an increase of \$5 a week in salary."

"Any great employer of labor can afford to pay the man \$5 a week increase if he will get married and then, in ten years, the married man's average salary will be lower than if he remained single. The wife and the \$5 a week increase, especially the wife, will anchor the average worker in his job as long as he can hold it, and after he is married he will demand an increase of salary only when forced to do it."

"There is one big employer of labor in a big western city who makes a standing offer to increase the salary of every man who draws over \$15 a week by \$5 on the day he gets married. He figures that he has saved tens of thousands of dollars and maintained a high standard among his workmen by this policy. He does it as an economic proposition, and he remains firm that show that the married man in his establishment, averaged for twelve years of service each, are paid about \$2.35 a week less than the unmarried man who have been in the service the same length of time."

"Married Men Afraid of Jobs." The explanation he gives is that the married man, while he may ask for an increase in salary, seldom demands it, and still less frequently makes an issue of the salary question by giving the firm his choice between granting the increase or accepting his resignation. When the man assumes a wife he grows timid about losing his position and his timidity and fear increase in direct ratio to the number of children born to him."

"Frequently," this employer told me, "I order the salary of some married man increased after he has served us faithfully for years simply because I know he never will ask for it. The advance of \$5 a week granted when they are married practically puts an end to their increases until they save enough to be independent of the work or until another position is open to them."

"It's an odd fact, too, that nearly all firms prefer married men to single men as skilled workmen."

steadier, less liable to fly off at slight provocation and much less likely to start or help foster labor troubles inside the shop. The firms seldom offer jobs to married men working elsewhere—simply because they don't see them."

"It seems a cold-blooded proposition, but we know that the \$5 a week increase in salary is an incentive to make the men get married, and we know, and they do not, that we save money by granting them that increase."

"Bachelors Get Best Pay."

"We have studied the salary lists for many years back, taking the old employees and watching their advances. The ones that get married, we find averaged about \$18 a week before marriage, the same as the general run of young men in the office. When they were married their average jumped to about \$21, while the single ones remained at \$18, an envied the married men. Five years later we found the married men were averaging about \$22.50, and the single men, who started at the same time, were getting nearly \$21, and at the end of twelve years' service we discovered from the average salaries of twenty-seven married men who had received the \$5 increase, and fourteen single men who started with them in the office, the married men were averaging about \$23.25 and the single men \$22.55. The single men, by demanding increases when they felt they deserved them, had overcome the advantage of the \$5 advance and outstripped the married men who had been afraid to demand more money."

The Socialist contends that the wage earner is a slave, a chattel in every sense of the word. A man who is compelled through terror or fear of the horrors of starvation for himself and family, to sell his labor power at enough to sustain and reproduce himself is a slave. And what is the above article from the "Plain Dealer," but an admission of this fact? Here we see capitalism turning the best instincts of the workman to the latter's enslavement and the capitalist's profit. There is but one way of overcoming this condition of wage-slavery and degradation, and that is by abolishing capitalism and inaugurating Socialism."

#### HE HAS NOT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Has Comrade De Leon joined the Socialist party, and if so, when? The reason I am prompted to ask is because of an item in an editorial paragraph in the December 30 issue of the Volkzeitung's translation to English speaking readers—

### FOR THE GERMAN PARTY ORGAN.

An entertainment and dance for the benefit of "Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung," the German party organ, will be given by Section Cleveland, S. L. P., at Finkbeiner's Hall, corner Starkweather and Pelton avenues, on Thursday, January 18, beginning at 8 p. m. sharp.

An excellent program has been composed for this occasion, including a piano duet by Professors Maurer and Sorgen, violin solo by Master Timmermann, singing, recitations and comical acts. An elegant \$45 New Home sewing machine will be given away as a prize.

Tickets are only ten cents and can be had from all members and at the office of German party organ, 193 Champlain avenue, corner Seneca street, third floor.

Needless to say that our German party organ deserves the hearty support of every comrade and sympathizer and it is therefore expected that the Socialists of Cleveland will turn out in full force and meet for a jolly good time, for a good purpose, at Finkbeiner's Hall, on Thursday, January 18, at 8 p. m.

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

We have given you the chance to push up the Weekly People list, by the offer of three yearly subscriptions for one dollar. You haven't begun to take advantage of the offer, at least we see no indication of it as yet. For the week ending January 6th, we received but 146 subs to the Weekly People, and 35 mail subscriptions to the Daily People, a total of 181.

While we have given you the chance to do some good work, there are, aside from this, many opportunities confronting you. Industrial Unionism is forging ahead and its principles and tactics are forcing attention in all quarters. Nowhere, save in the Weekly People, can full and complete report of I. W. W. activity be found. The rank and file of the Socialist party, denied by their privately owned press, all knowledge of the movement, or else fed on garbled accounts of it, should, for their enlightenment, be brought in contact with the Weekly People. That this is not being done, shows that we are not alive to the opportunities, nay the DEMANDS, of the season. It is high time for all to awake.

We asked for 2,000 Weekly People subscriptions for the month of January. It is not too late to accomplish that feat yet, but to do it means work, work begun at once. Remember the conditions of the three yearly subscriptions for one dollar offer. They must be yearlies, and must reach us at one time accompanied with the cash. No other discounts or premiums allowed, when taking advantage of three yearly subs for one dollar offer.

For the January 20th issue of the Weekly People, the issue containing Debs' speech on Industrial Unionism, we have to date orders for 10,160 extra copies. If you want to circulate this issue don't wait until it is exhausted. Order now.

The roll of honor, this week, for five or more subs is: Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., 6; E. Halpin, Norfolk, Va., 6; C. A. Ruby, Rochester, N. Y., 5 for the Daily. J. A. LaBille, Kansas City, Mo., bought \$5 worth of prepaid postal cards.

To make a better showing than we do this week rests with you.

#### LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Pamphlets sent out: A. Louwet, Kalamazoo, Mich., \$2.40; Wm. Humphrey, Seattle, Wash., \$3; C. Clive, Salt Lake City, Utah, \$2; R. S. LaBarre, Seattle, Wash., \$1.50; A. Chambers, Brisbane, Queensland, \$1.50; H. J. Friedman, Chicago, \$2.25; Theo. Zollner, Duluth, Minn., \$1.50; J. A. Leach, Tucson, Ariz., \$3; Carl Oberhen, Atchison, Kans., \$2.25. Leaflets: P. Regnier, Schenectady, N. Y., \$2.25; J. Begovich, San Pedro, Cal., \$1.75; Local 167, I. W. W., New York, \$1.

Books: J. A. Leach, Tucson, Ariz., 1 Ancient Society; J. Billow, Chicago, 2 Sue stories; P. Bohmback, Boston, 2 Women Under Socialism; John Kenny, Lawrence, Mass., \$1.10; Chas. Rogers, Kansas City, Mo., \$2.50; C. T. Trotter, Billings, Mont., \$2.55; Australian Socialist League, Sydney, New South Wales, \$3.84 worth of literature, buttons, etc.

The business done shows that the Party activity is greatest in the West. Conditions are just as good for activity in the East. Get active.

The Worker. It reads: "In view of rumors that are now circulating in the party, it is in order to ask: Has De Leon been converted to the policy of 'boring from within,' on the political side?"

John Hossack.

Jersey City, N. J., January 1.

## Why Is Trades Unionism A Burning Question?

By S. Peskin.

(Translated from the Zeit Geist, a Jewish weekly publication of the Social Democratic Party by Dr. A. Levine.)

The trade unions are—to use a figure of speech—the vertebral column of the labor movement. All other kindred organizations represent the worker's interests but partially, some more, others less; the union is that organization which represents his interests in toto. This article we shall devote to the discussion of the role of the trade unions, the role of the economic struggle, in the general class struggle of the working class.

Ever since the Socialist movement took shape, its attitude toward the trade unions has been a moot topic, and it has proved to be such a complicated question that even unto this day we have not as yet obtained a clear answer. Now and again it has seemed that we were just on the point of apprehending it, but after the lapse of a couple of years, with great changes constantly occurring in the movement, the old answer becomes too one-sided and we are again on the hunt for a new one. In Germany, for example, but a few years ago we heard it plainly announced that the union must remain neutral, i. e., that politics must not be introduced into the union; that the party must stand entirely aloof from the trade union movement; but look at Germany to-day and you will soon realize that if they still stick to "neutrality," it has acquired an entirely new meaning; a neutrality, in fact, which bears not the remotest resemblance to the old. They have found out there that the old neutrality was the shortest road to conservative British pure and simple. They there also realized that the great transformations that the Socialists are striving for, cannot be carried out without the direct help of the unions, and that in order to carry them through they must be live unions, not corpses.

We see the same thing happening also in France and Italy, where the attitude toward the trade unions, or rather, the role of the unions in the general struggle of the working class, has become the most burning question among Socialists. There has arisen there, viz: the "syndicate" wing, which holds that even the Socialist political battle must be carried on directly by and through the trade unions. This tendency we shall discuss in a separate article. But instead of going to Europe for examples, we can to greater advantage turn to our own America where the data about trade unionism are much richer and more instructive than anywhere else, and what do we find? Exactly the same story. The trade union question is ever the standing order of business of the Socialist movement, calling for some definite solution; again and again have we announced to the world what this solution is supposed to be, but with the passing years, as the movement grows richer in experience and the economic development brings forth new points of view, the old solution becomes obsolete, and in the ranks of the Socialists a regrouping takes place according to the various opinions that they hold with regard to the trade union question. Take, for instance, the history of the last few years beginning with the formation of the S. D. P. Was there a single opinion that was so unanimously held by the comrades of the S. D. P. as the one that the tactics of the S. L. P. are absolutely wrong, and that all that Socialists had to do was to go into the unions with the meekness of the Christian apostles to preach Socialism there, and every time the labor fakir smites them on the cheek to humbly put forth the other? What do we see to-day. A break of ranks and a re-grouping. Old friends have become opponents; old opponents, friends. Such prominent and leading members of the S. D. P. as Debs, Simons, Untermyer, Coates, Mother Jones, Trautmann and others declare that the old "Christian apostolic" tactics are wrong, and go so far as to found an opposition organization made up of revolutionary, Socialist unions.

This being thus, how are we to bag this elusive trade union question, anyhow? Is it really of such importance to the Socialists as to make it worth while to even split up parties only to be set right and united on this question? My answer is, yes. The trade union question, the economic struggle, is of such paramount importance to us, Socialists, that it is worth everything only to be set right on this.

Modern Socialism has in reality a double foundation. On the one hand we have an economic structure reared upon private ownership and free competition which must be torn down; on the other hand we have the workers who are to do the ripping. The economic development in itself tends to make the economic structure more and more adapted

to a Socialist change and at the same time organizes and enlightens the workers to facilitate the job. The one and the other follow in the trail of the economic development itself.

The changes in the purely economic conditions are brought about, naturally, without our intervention. We, Socialists, need not give a helping hand to the capitalist class in organizing trusts, introducing gigantic machinery and expanding the market. This they do conscientiously and well. They at the same time collect great numbers of workmen into masses, discipline them through the requirements of modern machinery, give them a wider outlook and in general extend their horizon. Nothing remains for us but to revolutionize these masses, sharpen their class consciousness, and make them fit to be able, disposed and willing, to grapple with capitalism. And this, our work, is in harmony with the general economic development. Every event in the labor movement, every form of labor organization and every form of battle, must be viewed from this standpoint.

As the American working class has been fighting on the economic field these many years, we do well in continually agitating for unity at the ballot box. In this respect we find, however, that thus far the political struggle in this country does not bear, maintain, nor foster the fighting spirit that it does in continental Europe. There the working class has obtained the suffrage by first putting up a fight, and even to-day the very voting is an act of defiance. In going to vote the worker there feels that he is enjoying something which he has forced from his oppressors. Even to-day he is on the fighting line, for many are the obstacles put in his way to prevent him from using his right of suffrage. The police are all the time on the lookout to find the slightest pretext for dissolving his political clubs, to break up his political meetings, confiscate his papers, and arrest his speakers. And when he finally enters to give his vote he feels that everybody's stare is turned on him to see how he votes, and if he really votes for his party he is in immediate danger of being black-listed by the police and boss. In those countries therefore the process of voting itself leaves a deep impress on the Socialist worker. It rouses in him feelings of solidarity, of self-sacrifice; it stamps him with "The Red Badge of Courage," all of which is absolutely necessary to make the working class able, disposed and willing to lock horns with the capitalist class.

It is quite different though in countries that are free, and particularly so here in America. Neither the present nor preceding generation of workmen fought for their suffrage here and the process of voting does not recall any revolutionary memories. On the other hand the capitalist class has had such rare occasion to fear the workmen's vote that no obstruction nor interference of any account has as yet been brought into play. Very peacefully and cheerfully the Socialist walks into the booth and votes his party ticket. If his ethics are dull and his appetite sharp he might even be tempted to accept the ward heeler's bribe and still vote the Socialist ticket. To vote for Socialism, therefore, in a free country, does not rouse any of those feelings which foster a revolutionary spirit in the working class. At its best, the voting may be compared to an open Socialist demonstration with a free permit from the police obtained for the asking. If a demonstration happens to be large, it raises the courage of the participants; if it be small, it gives them cold feet. With the voting—ditto.

Now, let us take a look at the economic struggle. In this struggle we already meet the enemy face to face. This fight cannot be carried on in a closed booth where no one sees what you do. Strikes are carried on in the open, in the street, and the enemy in the form of hunger, cold, sickness, police, Pinkertons, and the inevitable blacklist stare you in the face. This form of conflict cannot help rousing feelings of solidarity, self-sacrifice, and courage in the combatants. This, therefore, is the form of conflict that is absolutely necessary to the historic role of the proletariat, viz: to dismantle the capitalist pirate ship from bow to stern. Compare our best electoral campaigns with the smallest strikes and you will see where there is more real strife, more revolutionary activity, in the former or in the latter. I believe we do not exaggerate by comparing the revolutionary temper of the working class in these instances to that of those working class masses who took part in some of the famous revolutions.

It is true that all these brilliant features of an economic struggle do not always come to the surface. This is due

## CLASSICAL LITERATURE

We are frequently asked for advice as to books that should be read on certain topics, and as to what constitutes good literature. So often are we asked for such advice, that we deem it a need probably widespread among our friends, and in order to help them in the direction of good reading we have made a careful selection of standard works representative of some of the greatest authors. These books are for thinking people. They are not books for a day but for all time. We can supply the books, cloth bound, for 50 cents a volume, which includes postage. Such books make ideal holiday gifts, and if your wife, your sister, or your sweetheart, or anyone else, contemplates giving you a present, tell them you would prefer one of these books to anything else. Orders must be accompanied with cash, no accounts opened. The titles are:

|  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
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| Carlyle's Sartor Resartus.               | Montaigne, Essays of.                 |
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partly to the fact that a great number of strikes are very small in dimension, and also because the union leaders are still permeated with the most conservative spirit. Instead of regarding a strike as a skirmish in the great class struggle, they consider it a great misfortune to be avoided as much as possible. When it finally breaks out in spite of them they immediately clip its wings, minimize its significance. They are on the spot with explanations that it was but an accident, nothing but a misunderstanding, which both the workers and capitalists could easily avoid if you could only bring their representatives together at a jolly banquet. If the strike happens to extend, and threatens to drag in industries kindred to, or bordering on, the one on strike, they put new obstacles in the way, shouting all the time that they have no intentions whatever of hurting the interests of capital, heaven forbid!

Yet in spite of all this, these leaders cannot hold back the economic development. In spite of all the banquets of the Gomperses with the Belmonts no great strike was avoided, nor has any of the obstacles or pitfalls that Gompers & Co. have placed in the way prevented the realization of the spiritual rewards, mentioned above, that follow in the wake of every strike. The more acute the feelings of antagonism in this country between capital and labor become, the weaker the rule of the Gomperses, and the more often can we expect the great strikes to become veritable civil wars.

The period of small strikes has passed, and with it the stage of fighting capital with capital. Where is that union whose treasury can withstand that of the trust, whose strike benefit alone can force a victory? Hence, we must adopt new methods of warfare. If a large treasury and subtle diplomacy have become antiquated weapons, there remains nothing for the working class but to carry on this economic fight unhampered by anything whatsoever; the fight must be

made so extensive and intensive as the circumstances will only allow, and the situation demand. The centre of gravity of the class struggle in the near future lies in the economic fight, and that is why trades unionism is such a burning question to us, Socialists.

We do not, however, mean to detract the importance of the political struggle. We know full well that the political battlefield has the great advantage of bearing the characteristics of a general engagement between the whole working class and the whole capitalist class. We also appreciate the fact that the great economic engagements can only be managed well when they are supported by a strong political movement, and we generally see in reality that these two are so closely connected that every great strike is followed by some form of political manifestation.

The Socialists, however, bank so much on the political issue that further emphasis in that direction is not necessary. At the same time it has become imperative to get a better grasp of the significance of the economic struggle, because this is too often neglected. All that is demanded of the unions is that they vote for the Socialists. If they do so, they are considered perfectly good; if they fail, they are good-for-nothing. Whereas, the real mission of the union is the economic struggle, but it must be free, extensive, unrestrained, and undiplomatized.

For some time it has been an accepted axiom among Socialists that the union is the recruiting school for Socialism. Forced into the union by his material interests, the worker there gradually ripens into a Socialist. This is certainly true, but not the whole truth. The union is also the military school, and the camp of the full-fledged Socialist; here only does the theoretical Socialist become inured to the ways of warfare; here he makes his manoeuvres; here he acquires that military art and military psychology so absolutely essential to the final triumph of the working class.



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correspondents are requested to keep a  
copy of their articles, and not to expect  
them to be returned. Consequently, no  
stamps should be sent for return.

#### SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888..... 2,068  
In 1892..... 21,157  
In 1896..... 36,564  
In 1900..... 54,191  
In 1904..... 34,172

The old Barons of the middle ages  
used, in general, the thumb-screw to ex-  
tort property; we moderns use, in pref-  
erence, hunger or domestic affliction: but  
the fact of extortion remains precisely  
the same. Whether we force the man's  
property from him by pinching his stom-  
ach, or pinching his fingers, makes some  
difference anatomically;—morally, none  
whatsoever.

—RUSEKIN.

#### HUSHMONEY OR BLACKMAIL?

The press despatches from Pittsburg,  
Pa., have it that the H. C. Frick inter-  
ests are endeavoring to buy "The Lead-  
er" newspaper of that city. The an-  
nouncement comes accompanied with the  
story that "The Leader" was print-  
ing articles and cartoons "hostile to the  
Frick interests"; that \$1250,000 was of-  
fered for "The Leader" ten days ago by  
the Frick interests, which sought to turn  
the paper from an enemy into a sup-  
porter; that the offer was declined; that  
thereupon "The Leader" came out with  
a cartoon representing Frick with a dol-  
lar sign on his back; and that Frick  
then told his broker: "This won't do.  
Buy that paper for me."

Is "The Leader" telling the truth about  
Frick and his "interests"? If so, none  
can be better aware of it than Frick  
himself. In that case, when Frick says:  
"This won't do," he means that the truth  
must not be told. When he orders his  
broker to buy the paper the purpose is  
to throttle information. When he is  
ready to pay so round a sum for stif-  
ling facts the price is hush-money. No  
innocent man pays out hush-money.

On the other hand, is "The Leader"  
not telling the truth? If so, then the  
paper is seeking to levy blackmail.

Altogether the spectacle is character-  
istic of the virtues of capitalism, and  
of the virtues that capitalism breeds.  
It is a compound of hush-money and  
blackmail. The privately owned press  
is an industry set up for sale. "Luck"  
started as a fierce anti-railroad cartoon-  
ist that made the Goulds and Vanderbilts  
squirm. The railroad interests bought it;  
now it is a lickspittle of King Cap-  
ital. It is not unlikely that "The Lead-  
er" will pass into the assets of the  
Frick interests and that it will soon re-  
produce Frick, not with a dollar sign  
on his back, but with the wings of an  
angel, and around his head the halo of  
a saint.

#### DECIDEDLY ELEMENTARY.

The printers' strike for the eight-hour  
day in the book and job trade furnishes  
the ripe-diet-for-the-workingmen "Even-  
ing Post" the occasion for some philo-  
sophic thoughts on elementals. It says:  
"The union is within its rights in de-  
manding higher wages; the employers  
in demanding that men willing and anx-  
ious to work at the rate now paid be  
allowed to do so. That is elementary."  
There can be nothing more elementary  
than that—from the capitalist view  
point.

That disposes the peasants from their  
holdings; then tax and undersell the  
middle class out of existence; then fur-  
ther increase the supply of labor in the  
labor-market at home by luring hither  
the workers from Europe or anywhere  
else; and, then, when the supply suf-  
ficiently exceeds the demand and men  
are not only willing but "anxious to  
work" for the merest pittance, sing out  
"free field and no favors", and let the  
employer profit by the standard of star-  
vation that the employing class itself  
raised. That certainly is elementary.

And it is also elementary that, when  
—despite the capitalist's process of over-  
stocking the market—, the over-supply  
insists upon herding together in cities,  
leaving a dearth of hands on the fields,  
the capitalist class should throw its  
through its "Evening Post", and curse  
the under-supply in the fields for in-  
sisting upon a wage-scale in keeping  
with the low supply of the locality. That  
is so elementary that it hardly needs  
more than to be mentioned.

There is something else equally ele-  
mentary, and that is that people will  
not for ever accept as current coin the  
hypocritical pretenses of fair play in  
which the capitalist class wraps up its

iniquities; that they will see through the  
sham, perceive how things stand, and  
then give short shrift to a social sys-  
tem in which large numbers of men,  
women and even children are systemat-  
ically driven to such desperate straits that  
they are "willing and anxious", especial-  
ly anxious, to look upon the merest  
starvation wage as the drowning man  
looks at a straw. This is probably the  
most elementary of the three proposi-  
tions.

#### CRAFTISM ON EXHIBITION

The compositors are now engaged in  
a gigantic fight—the fight for the  
eight-hour day. Arrayed against  
them stands the association of the Ty-  
pothetæ. Even eight hours is too long  
a day's work at the machine; no amount  
of wages can compensate man, least of  
all woman for the health-undermining  
drudgery of the type-setting machine.  
That the Typothetæ pay no giddy wages  
we all know. What with low wages and  
fibre-and-nerve-consuming work, the  
mortality among the compositors is, as  
their journal recently put it, appalling.  
Against such conditions the Internation-  
al Typographical Union has taken up  
arms. What should one expect at such  
a time from sister unions in the A. F. of  
L., especially of a Union of closely kin-  
dred trade? Why, of course, determined  
support. Even though it is true that the  
I. T. U. has ever left its kindred trades in  
the lurch, even though, therefore, en-  
thusiasm must not be expected from kin-  
dred trades that have suffered from I. T. U.  
egotism on other occasions, this cer-  
tainly is not the time for "tit for tat."  
But no!

A circular is out from the Franklin  
Association No. 23, signed by its Presi-  
dent and Recording Secretary, cautioning  
all members NOT (the underscoring is in  
the circular) to take part in any strike  
or lockout that may occur on account  
of the present eight-hour agitation! And  
as if to add irony to the thrust, the cir-  
cular bears the label of the allied print-  
ing trades!

There stands craft Unionism on exhibi-  
tion. Each battalion of the Labor Army  
left to fight it out alone, while the others  
rest upon their arms, and look on—  
"neutral" in the fight.

That individual or body of individuals  
in the Labor Movement who stands neu-  
tral in any conflict, in which some other  
individual or body of individuals in the  
Labor Movement is involved, is not a  
neutral. He and it are ACTIVE SUP-  
PORTERS OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

#### HOCH'S IDEAL.

Gov. Hoch of Kansas is in a stew  
about what he calls the tidal wave of  
Socialism sweeping over the country, and  
the individual being "swallowed up in the  
government." The Governor must be  
living with closed eyes. The danger  
of the individual being "swallowed up in  
the government" is not a danger that is  
pending, it is a calamity that our people  
are now actually laboring under.

What is the status of the men and  
women in the sweat-shops? What is the  
status of the famishing miners in the  
mining regions? What is the status of  
the worn-out weavers in the mills? What  
is the status of the railroad men, whose  
mutilated limbs strew the highways of  
the nation? What is the status of the  
hundreds of thousands of children in fac-  
tories, and on streets peddling papers?  
What is the status of the women in the  
chain factories of Illinois? What is the  
status of the prematurely grey shoemak-  
ers, who are lashed to the Goodyear ma-  
chine? What is the status of the com-  
positors, the mortality among whom is  
appalling? What is the status of the  
chain-gang-looking gangs of men in the  
sugar and oil refineries? What is the  
status of the steel workers in the Car-  
negie plant? But why go through the long  
list of the men who do the nation's  
work? What in short, is the status of  
the Working Class?—They are swallow-  
ed up head and heels in the government,  
the real government, the maker and un-  
maker of the political government, the  
CAPITALIST PLANTS AND ADMINIS-  
TRATION OF THE LAND.

But being himself a political product  
of the capitalist economic government,  
Gov. Hoch, perhaps, follows the custom  
of the Capitalist Class; when he thinks  
of the people or the nation, the Working  
Class does not enter into consideration,  
only the Capitalist Class is considered.  
Is that class, excepting the trifling per-  
centage that constitutes the Morgan or  
plutocratic top-notch, a sample of in-  
the-government-unswallowed-up individ-  
uality? What is the status of the large  
body of minority of stock stockholders?  
What is the status of the politicians  
whom the crack of Roosevelt's patronage  
whip corralled so as to elect a boy as  
Speaker of the Assembly in Albany?  
What is the status, in short, of the  
bulk of the Capitalist Class?—They are  
swallowed up, head and heels, in the gov-  
ernment, the real government, the maker  
and un-maker of political government,  
the capitalist plants and administration  
of the land, run by the plutocracy. They  
have no opinion of their own. They

sure utter none, if they have any.  
They are swallowed up in their own  
governmental system.

It is with man as with birds. The  
coloring of birds is either protective or  
amorous. Where there is no danger to  
life, the bird's free and happy spirit  
manifests itself in beautiful plumage.  
Where there is danger of life, the bird  
merges its individuality in the color of  
its surroundings: its plumage adopts  
the prevalent surrounding color. So with  
man. Assured existence warms individ-  
uality into being; precariousness of ex-  
istence, swallows up individuality, free-  
dom of thought and action vanishes.  
Such is the aspect presented by our  
masses to-day. They are swallowed up  
in the government—and that is a curse  
peculiar to capitalism that Socialism  
only can lift.

#### LETTING OUT CATS.

When the capitalist finds himself  
crowded by the Socialist, and realizes  
that he can not hold the position that he  
is a wealth producer, he forthwith seeks  
shelter in a cloud of abstractions. One  
is that his share in the wealth produced  
is the reward of the risks he takes,  
another is that it is the reward of his  
abstinence, a third is that it is the re-  
ward of his enterprise; he usually clinch-  
es the last point with the announcement  
that Socialism would undermine initia-  
tive and destroy enterprise: everything  
would depend upon the Government: the  
individual would have to lean so much  
upon the Government that he would  
forget how to stand upon his own feet:  
whereas, under capitalism, the Govern-  
ment only regulates the conduct of in-  
dividual towards individual, leaving both  
to exercise their self-reliance. Hence  
capitalism develops enterprise, while So-  
cialism would develop paternalism. The  
Congressional debates on the railroads in  
the Philippine Islands are letting out  
cats galore on the subject.

When our American capitalists took  
possession of the archipelago they found  
there only 120 miles of railroad, extend-  
ing from Manila to Dagupan. Capitalist  
"initiative and enterprise" started to  
improve upon that. A complete system  
of railways was projected, aggregating  
about a thousand miles; and then—and  
then? And then self-reliant Capital ex-  
hibited its self-reliance—by "standing  
upon its own feet" and thus earning the  
reward of its enterprise? Not! By getting  
its Government to guarantee 4 per cent  
return for thirty years! Needless to  
say that, if American Labor had deman-  
ded from Congress a one-half of one per  
cent return on the fiber it would  
have to expend in building the  
projected roads; American Labor  
would have been hoisted out of  
that Temple of Anti-Paternalism for  
aiming a blow at individual self-reliance  
and enterprise. Quite otherwise when  
the application came from the capitalist  
class for a guarantee of 4 per cent return  
upon its stolen goods.

"Risks," "Abstinence," "Enterprise"—  
these are but variations to the same  
tune, the tune of plunder. The capitalist  
class takes no "risks"; if it at all "ab-  
stains" the abstinence is of honor and  
sobriety; and as to its "individuality"  
and "self-reliant enterprise" that is but  
terms to conceal the fact that its Govern-  
ment is there to be leaned upon.

In the discussion of the labor problem  
much time and attention is given to  
showing that the position of the work-  
ing class is either improving or de-  
clining. Many persons imagine that  
if it can be shown that labor is better  
paid than formerly, the labor problem  
will be proven without inherent justifi-  
cation and vanish accordingly. Unfor-  
tunately for them, the imaginings of  
persons never make a problem, though  
they may complicate it. And the  
labor problem is no exception to the  
rule. The labor problem exists because  
of the conflicting interests of capital  
and labor. Labor creates all wealth, but  
receives only sufficient to subsist, for  
doing so. Labor insists on having all it  
creates. It contends that the problem  
is not one of relative proportions, but  
of justice to itself. This Capital de-  
nies. Capital insists that it has a right  
to expropriate all of Labor's products  
above the cost of its subsistence. This  
arises the conflict. This is the labor  
problem, all else proceeds therefrom and  
is supplementary or incidental thereto.  
And the problem will not be settled  
until the claims of Labor are sustained,  
as they give every indication of being  
in the not very distant future.

McCall gets out, and the New York  
Life Insurance company finds itself "in"  
\$235,000 as a consequence. If the whole  
capitalist class was to get out, how much  
would the working class be "in"? Think  
it over.

"We see evidence of prosperity on  
every hand."—W. H. Harriman, Dec. 30,  
1905.

"I predict a panic that will make all  
previous panics look like child's play."—  
Jacob Schiff, Jan. 4, 1906.  
Comparisons are odious!

#### KING CAPITAL

His Shabby Errands and the Shabby  
Fellows Who Do Them.

The King often has shabby errands,  
and must have shabby fellows to do  
them.—Walter Scott.

King Capital also has his shabby er-  
rands. And his shabby system of pro-  
duction and distribution, to repose safely  
in the royal household of plutocracy,  
must be guarded and protected. His  
lieges, the rum shop, the distiller-brewer,  
the pawnbroker, the tenement house  
landlord, the instalment furniture sales-  
man, with his two hundred per cent  
profit, the Industrial Insurance company,  
whose agents invade widows' houses and  
gather up the tribute of a nickel or a  
dime weekly, yielded for fear and in  
terror lest sudden death visit the house-  
hold and the humiliation of a pauper  
burial be the consequence—all such are  
shabby fellows doing shabby errands and  
their name is legion.

As Louis XVI had his mercenaries, the  
Swiss guards; as the Russian Czar main-  
tains his Cossacks and rewards them  
with free lease of land gratuities and  
service pension, so the despot, Capitalism,  
must be protected from the resentment  
or a possible retaliation by his victims.

In the great metropolis of America an  
army of mercenaries and hirelings are  
organized nine thousand strong, equip-  
ped with uniforms, armed with bludgeons  
and firearms, standing guard over the  
unholy accumulations of the capitalist  
appropriator, the plutocratic usurper.  
The apology they offer for this miserable  
servitude is that it's a soft job and pays  
well, but they sometimes indicate that  
the criminal and disorderly classes must  
be held in check or society would be  
destroyed.

The Socialist missionary has looked  
long and earnestly to find the criminal  
or disorderly among the proletariat and  
they are non est inventus. True, we  
know of the frenzied, the debased, the  
disheartened; also we know the primary  
cause, the capitalist system of production  
and distribution. And we promise to  
abolish that economic deformity, usually  
named poverty. We know that the dis-  
possessed sometimes turn like the trod-  
den worm and with the same result:  
their own annihilation; for the laws that  
create temptations instead of removing  
them speedily avenges this attempted  
retaliation, which it could not prevent.

We have no Czar in America but a  
cruel and remorseless system, a privi-  
leged class, that reaps where it has not  
sown. Furnishes the capital, perhaps. So  
does the footpad provide the revolver.  
So did the jolly rover, Capt. Robt. Kyd,  
furnish the armed crew and cannonades,  
and in each case the motives were iden-  
tical, the spoliation of the helpless. Con-  
sider the system of the employment  
of the American Cossacks. In the lower  
grade, a wage of from one thousand to  
fourteen hundred dollars yearly; in the  
higher grades a proportionate increase,  
as well as perquisites of graft, etc.; and,  
after twenty years' service a pension for  
the remainder of life equal to half this  
amount. Labor statistics proved long  
ago that the average weekly wage of  
the honest workman had not for  
many years exceeded the nine dollar  
weekly figure and his pension after  
twenty years' service the privilege of the  
alma house, the morgue and Potter's  
Field. Is it not time that we give heed  
and consider this significant physical  
feature of the capitalist conspiracy; or  
are we to remain the idiotic, the uncon-  
scious and shabby fellows doing shabby  
tricks against our order and our com-  
monwealth? G. W. Tracy.

Utica, N. Y.

The police officials of Boise, Idaho, are  
rendering themselves ridiculous. Unable  
or unwilling to bring the assassins of Ex-  
Governor Stuenenberg to justice, they  
blame his death on the Western Federa-  
tion of Miners. The prospects are that  
some business rival or political opponent  
killed the former Governor. As the de-  
voted of Capitalism, laying claim of  
being immaculately pure, they are com-  
pelled, for appearance's sake, to place  
the blame of Stuenenberg's death on a  
labor organization, rather than where it  
most likely belongs. The *Coeur d'Alene*  
bull pen is too ancient an issue and has  
been too much overshadowed by later  
and more stirring events to have been  
the motive for the dynamiting of Stuen-  
enberg.

Yerkes, the dead millionaire, was an-  
other "moral" capitalist, upholder of  
marriage and the family, opponent of  
free love, etc., etc. Miss Grigaby is an  
eloquent living testimonial of the fact.  
And, it is intimated, "there are others."

The New York Post Office is hailed as  
"a big money maker". For whom? For  
the post office contractors and the rail-  
road companies. Certainly not for the  
employees, who complain of low wages,  
long hours, overwork and the spy sys-  
tem.

#### PRIVATELY OWNED PRESS.

The re-alignment that is taking place  
in the Socialist Movement of the land is  
raising a number of issues that must be  
settled right, or they will continue to  
plague the Movement. Of course, these  
issues all center around the burning  
Question of Unionism; they nevertheless  
have their own independent existence.  
Among these collateral issues, and par-  
taking of the burning feature of the  
main Question, is the Question of the  
ownership of the press. So burning is  
this topic also that many are the let-  
ters running into this office, raising this,  
that and the other point on the matter.  
The subject merits fuller and more con-  
nected treatment than off-hand answers  
in the Letter-Box will afford.

The press is a necessary of life. Man  
lives, not of bread alone. Information  
is vital, not to the spiritual part of man  
only, but to his physical part as well.  
Indeed, bread depends upon information.  
Information is as necessary to man as  
trousers and railroads. What the pri-  
vate ownership of the means that fur-  
nish trousers and transportation sig-  
nifies the Socialist knows, the capital-  
ist knows, and he who is neither So-  
cialist nor capitalist feels, though he is  
not aware of where the shoe pinches.  
Though the economic power imparted by  
the private ownership of the means of  
producing trousers, transportation, in  
short, of the material necessities of life,  
the capitalist class can and does wield  
a despot's sway. The private ownership  
of the press is one of the palladiums of  
capitalism. Seeing that bread and phys-  
ical wellbeing depend upon information,  
the privately owned capitalist press is  
operated by each capitalist concern in  
such manner as may lead the stream  
of loaves into its own pockets, and, as  
a matter of course, they jointly operate  
it in such manner as may leave the  
Working Class out in the cold. The gen-  
eral method to this end is called "mold-  
ing public opinion"; the detailed means  
in the method are the suppression of  
information that may injure the inter-  
ests of the publishing concern, the pub-  
lishing of whatever will promote its  
own interests, the falsification of facts  
injurious to it, and the affectation of  
righteous indignation at views and acts  
that will interfere with the flow of  
loaves towards it. Needless to go into  
details to illustrate the egotistic one-  
sidedness of, for instance, free trade and  
of protection papers. Each suppresses  
the truth concerning the other; each is  
guilty of mutual falsifications; all are  
mendacious in the claim of "neutrality"  
or of being animated by patriotic sen-  
timents. To take a broader instance, the  
fate of the great Lewis H. Morgan's work  
on "Ancient Society" will illustrate the  
point best. Were it not for the Social-  
ist Labor Party press, the book would  
be out of print to-day. Despite its  
high scientific value in ethnology, cap-  
italist bibliography seeks to ignore the  
work, capitalist professors lie about it,  
capitalist papers know not of it—its  
inevitably revolutionary trend makes  
against the flow of loaves into the pockets  
of capitalism. All this is natural.  
The Socialist knows the controlling pow-  
er of material interests. It is upon ma-  
terial interests that Socialism itself  
plants itself. Proceeding from these basic  
principles, the S. L. P. holds that the  
Socialist press must be the property of  
the Socialist political Movement. It holds  
that this is a case of "the people own-  
ing the railroads, or the railroads own-  
ing the people": either the Movement  
itself must own its press or the press  
will own it: if it does not itself take  
the whiphand as itself the mold of  
public opinion, it can not escape be-  
coming the mold. It holds, in short,  
that, to leave the Socialist press in pri-  
vate hands, is for the Movement to put  
its head into the noose of private in-  
terests. This principle, being based  
upon the facts gathered from experi-  
ence, is now found confirmed at all  
points by a mass of recent events in  
the Movement itself.

It is of no consequence for the point  
at issue—the ownership of the Party  
press—whether the new Union, the In-  
dustrial Workers of the World, is good,  
bad, or indifferent. It is of no conse-  
quence for the point at issue whether the  
issues raised and arguments presented,  
by the I. W. W. are sound or otherwise.  
The fact is the I. W. W. is there, strong  
enough to be felt, vocal enough to be  
heard; also the fact is that at least  
a powerful number of organized and un-  
organized Socialist or Social Democr-  
atic Party men are in full sympathy with  
the I. W. W., and many more are greedy  
for information thereon. What, in sight  
of these facts is the posture of the pri-  
vately owned press of that party? It  
is the posture of the privately owned  
press of individual capitalist concerns.  
It has dropped the thin mask of "neu-  
trality" in Trades Union fights, it has  
stepped forth as a goucher for the A. F.  
of L. against the I. W. W., obedient to  
its private interests it has insolently  
presumed to turn the party, whom it  
pretends to serve, into a mold of its

own private "public opinion" by means  
of suppression of information, publica-  
tion of falsehood and even forgery. The  
conduct of the Volkszeitung Corpora-  
tion's papers, the "Volkszeitung" and  
"Worker" is typical.

In September of last year, the Presi-  
dent and the Secretary-Treasurer of the  
I. W. W., Sherman and Trautmann were  
in this city on an organization tour, and  
held large meetings—"The Worker"  
wholly suppressed information thereon,  
while the "Volkszeitung" sought to in-  
jure the second meeting, a meeting of  
silkworms, by giving a notice of it in  
advance with a FALSE ADDRESS.

In December of last year, Debs, the  
Socialist party's recent Presidential can-  
didate, delivered five addresses in this  
city and vicinity to crowded houses on  
the I. W. W.—"The Worker" suppress-  
ed all mention of them.

Not satisfied with seeking to "mold  
public opinion" by the withholding of  
information and the misleading of its  
readers through false addresses, the Cor-  
poration went further:

An anonymous circular appeared from  
A. F. of L. quarters defaming the I.  
W. W. Capmakers Union—Without in-  
quiring into the correctness of the charges,  
the "Volkszeitung" hastened to  
father them and make them the founda-  
tion of an assault upon the I. W. W.

Not yet satisfied with seeking to  
"mold public opinion" by the publication  
as true of unverified and anonymous  
charges, the Corporation went still fur-  
ther:

Both "The Worker" and "Volkszeitung"  
refused publication to the signed  
denial by the national organizer of the  
I. W. W., of the anonymous charges  
made by the A. F. of L. capmakers; and  
"The Worker" also refused publication  
to the SWORN ANSWER which the I.  
W. W. capmakers published.

Not even yet satisfied with seeking to  
"mold public opinion" by a hostility and  
unfairness that bordered on goughism,  
the Corporation went still further, turn-  
ing up in the full goucher's role for the  
A. F. of L. even to the point of com-  
mitting the crime of forgery:

In its summary of the anonymous  
charges against the I. W. W. capmakers,  
"The Worker" inserted a clause that  
was not in the original, and subsequent-  
ly, letters from its party members criti-  
cizing its conduct, are published in  
mutilated form and materially alter-  
ed. A publishing concern is not a tube  
through which everything sent in must  
appear in its paper. Letters of criticism  
may be improper. The concern's duty  
then is to refuse them publication. To  
publish them, however, over the writ-  
er's signature in garbled form is an act  
of knavery; it is forgery; it is insidious  
deception. Such knavish acts are not  
uncommon in the Socialist or Social  
Democratic party press. Another strik-  
ing illustration was recently furnished  
by the Milwaukee "Social Democratic  
Herald" when a letter, sent by Debs  
criticizing Berger's conduct in the mat-  
ter of fusion with capitalist candidates  
in Milwaukee, was published by that  
paper in an "expurgated" version.

Further instances are superfluous. The  
so-called "press of the Social Democratic  
or Socialist party" is run so as to keep  
the party in ignorance and to deceive it,  
and the party is impotent for redress.  
There is no party authority over that  
press, to which to appeal. There can  
be none. The concerns are privately owned.  
The party may expel these editors  
and each of the incorporators; but they  
can, as the Volkszeitung Corporation is  
now obviously doing, stick out their tongues,  
and, in the language of Tweed,  
ask: "What are you going to do about  
it?" The party circulated the publica-  
tions of the concern, it thereby made  
the concern a power, but that power  
is out of the party's reach. Like can-  
ons that the labor of a city raises  
upon the dominating heights that sur-  
round it, and then leaves in the hands  
of its overlords, who turn them upon  
the city and keep it in subjection, the  
press, as a whole, of the Socialist or So-  
cial Democratic party is handled irres-  
ponsible to the party, responsible only  
to the private interests of its owners.

Theory, based upon previous facts, is  
confirmed by subsequent ones. Whatever  
thorn there might be, and no doubt is, in  
a party-owned press, the rose of the  
party's organ reflecting the party's col-  
lective will, its collective wisdom or col-  
lective ignorance; and moving strictly  
obedient to that collective sense repays  
all possible thorns. Only the other day  
a batch of editors was removed at one  
sweep from the central organ of the  
German Social Democracy. Their policy  
was not the party's. Had the paper been  
private property the party would have  
stood before them impotent; as it was  
the party owns the paper; they went by  
the board and the ship steamed.

If a Socialist Movement does not own  
its press, that press will own the Move-  
ment. Of all grotesque sights imagin-  
able, can there be any more grotesque  
than that of a Movement that claims  
to be revolutionist allowing its most  
potent weapon to be wielded by private  
interests?



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER  
JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—I heard a ridicu-  
lous man talking last evening.

Uncle Sam—What makes you think  
he was ridiculous?

B. J.—He was espousing the rights  
of the working class.

U. S.—Is that ridiculous?

B. J.—Why certainly. It is ridiculous  
in view of the fact that the poverty of  
the working people and their so-called  
misery—

U. S.—So-called misery?

B. J.—Anyway, in view of the fact  
that their poverty and their misery are  
due in a large measure to their ex-  
travagance, their immorality and  
aversion to work.

U. S.—You are quite sure of that?

B. J.—Why, certainly. A man's  
economy, push and hard work  
place himself in a position of comfort.

U. S.—That's all very beautiful. Now  
what if it you want?

B. J.—I want you to agree that to  
espouse the rights of the working class  
is ridiculous.

U. S.—I want you first to agree with  
me that you are a Heathen Chinee.

B. J.—But I am not.

U. S.—Certainly you are. In view of  
the fact that your eyes slant downward,  
that you carry a pigtail and that you  
wear your shirt outside of your trousers,  
what else can you be but a Heathen  
Chinee?

B. J.—But my eyes don't slant down-  
ward; I don't carry a pigtail; and as to  
my shirt, I don't wear it outside of my  
trousers. You are talking nonsense; you  
are off your base.

U. S.—But you will agree that if my  
premises were right my conclusion that  
you are a Heathen Chinee would be  
right too, wouldn't you?

B. J.—Yes, it would; but they aren't.

U. S.—And so I would agree with you  
that, if your premises about the charac-  
teristics of the workingmen, and about  
the capacity of "push, hard work and  
economy" to place a man in comfort,  
were correct, I would agree with you  
that it is ridiculous to espouse the work-  
ingman's cause. But these premises are  
as much "off" as the premises from  
which the conclusion followed that you  
were a Heathen Chinee.

B. J.—Well, let's look into my pre-  
mises.

U. S.—Now you talk. When you started  
you incurred the very ugly error of  
starting with a debatable proposition  
for your premises, and then trying  
debate the conclusion. The real issue  
to settle is that which you took "off-  
fact". I deny your premises or "facts"  
in toto. Now prove them.

B. J.—Which fact do you deny?

U. S.—Every one of them. It is  
true that the misery and the poverty  
of the working class is due in any mea-  
sure to their extravagance, immorality  
or aversion to work. Each of these al-  
legations is false. Neither is it true that  
economy, push and hard work are  
enough to put a man in comfort. Now  
trot out your proofs. Begin with the  
"extravagance" of the workingman.

B. J.—Hem; well—hem—

U. S.—Stuck? Well, proceed on his  
"immorality".

B. J.—Well; hem—well—

U. S.—Stuck again? Now take up his  
aversion to work.

B. J.—Hem; hem. Well—

U. S.—Stuck a third time. Now see  
here. Even the lying census reports  
don't allow the average workman  
over \$1 a day from year end to year end.  
What is there to economize on? If a  
man has to hire himself to a capitalist  
he can't get more pay than his market  
value, and that is determined by the  
supply of labor and the demand. If he  
gets a job, the price is barely enough to  
get along with. In order to get along  
without hiring himself he must have cap-  
ital enough to employ others. Where  
is he going to get that capital from? The  
poverty of the workingman is the re-  
sult not of aversion to work or the  
but of the private ownership of the  
chinery to work with; he, not owned  
that must sell himself in wage slave  
at wage slavery allows no margin  
rise from. If economy were a wealth  
producer then the workers would be mil-  
lionaires and the millionaires would be  
paupers.



## CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

## TIS THE SAME DUCK.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I see in the December 30th issue of the "Worker", a fish-wife's tirade against the Socialist Labor Party and Comrade De Leon, with side flings at Eugene V. Debs; the outburst is signed W. Fischler, Quebec. Of course it is really aimed at the I. W. W., but that aside, here is something I should like to know: I am an old-timer in the S. L. P. and this name Fischler sounds familiar. There was at one time a man of that name in the Socialist Labor Party; he left it because of the Party's "intolerance", and he immediately afterward showed the "toleration" he was after by taking a Federal political job, secured with the assistance of John Mitchell. Is this W. Fischler, Quebec, the same duck? Or is this one another duck?

George P. Herrschaff.  
Jersey City, N. J., Jan. 4.

## THE WAY TO START THE NEW YEAR.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The S. L. P. of Westchester County started the year 1906 by organizing a promising branch of 14 members in West New Rochelle.

A. J. F.  
New York, Jan. 2.

## A BIG SIX "VICTORY."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A thing happened at the adjourned meeting of Big Six, which took place on Sunday afternoon, the 31st of December, that looks either as a sell-out to the bosses by our great and glorious Eight-Hour Committee, or a scheme on their part to have our union put in such a fix that our international chums of Belmont can have the charter of Big Six revoked and re-organize the men to suit themselves. This is what happened at that adjourned meeting.

It there came out that the settlement which our Eight-Hour Committee made with a hundred and fifty-two independent shops, and which our Executive Committee approved and ratified, and which all our officers have applauded as a "victory for the eight-hour day" is in fact a decided victory for these one hundred and fifty-two bosses. After this they can work us to death and never pay overtime.

This is the way the agreement runs and the way it works. It is stipulated that the men in those shops will work only forty-eight hours a week. There are six work-days, so there you have your eight hours. But, mind you, the BOSS HAS THE POWER TO DIS-TRIBUTE HIS HOURS TO SUIT HIMSELF. He can work us one day, if there is a rush of business, ten and twelve hours. Formerly, under the nine-hour schedule, if he did work us ten or twelve hours he then had to pay us overtime for one or three hours, as the case might be. Now he need not pay us a cent for overtime. Provided that altogether a man does not work more than forty-eight hours a week the boss can now pocket the overtime and we are out of it.

Who will deny that these bosses are a happy lot! Who will wonder at the "World's" to-day crowing over our "victory." But why should we crow? As to us, we are simply sold out.

If the purpose is not to sell us out then the purpose of our Eight-Hour Committee must be to lay the foundation for the revocation of the charter of our union, as happened in St. Louis.

Big Six Member.  
New York, January 2.

## BUSY TIME IN PATERSON.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Last night was a busy time in this town. The Socialist Labor Party educational class meetings are becoming more interesting as we progress in "Value, Price and Profit." The agitation committee of I. W. W. locals met to perfect arrangements for organizing the ladies' waist makers; the joint committee of January 22 demonstration also met. So far as the writer has been able to observe, the progressive organizations are a unit in this affair; and the outlook is most encouraging for industrial unionism. In the near future, if the I. W. W. ranks are not many times doubled in this city, then my reckoning is away off.

Fraternally,  
R. Berdan.  
Paterson, N. J., December 30.

## THE I. W. W. IN CANADA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—"The Tribune," the organ of the pure and simple unions in this city, has an article against the I. W. W., by J. H. Flett. This man Flett is one of the most prominent of the A. F. of L. labor

leaders in Canada and his "say" is authoritative. One is led to ask oneself the question: If it takes nine or ten organizers of the A. F. of L. to counteract the efforts of one local of the I. W. W. in the city of Montreal, how many will it take to smash the I. W. W. at large? The answer springs immediately, thousands of organizers, which is an impossibility, therefore the I. W. W.'s day of triumph is assured.

The local of the I. W. W. (Mixed) is healthy, and I shall, as correspondent to The People and the "Industrial Worker," inform you from time to time of the doings in this corner of the universe.

Fraternally,  
James W. Reid.  
Toronto, January 1.

## A CHICAGO LECTURE ON UNIONISM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The last of the series of three mass meetings arranged by Cigarmakers' Local Union 158, I. W. W., was held Friday night, December 22, at Pritikin's Hall, corner Maxwell and 12th streets.

Considering the meeting from the standpoint of numbers, it was not much of a success, but as an educational meeting it was.

The meeting was opened by F. Barndt. The speaker was A. M. Simons.

The speaker first gave a review of the Labor Movement before the Civil War down to the formation of the K. of L. and then of the A. F. of L. The speaker pointed out on this head the significant thing that when the American Federation of Labor sent out the call for their first convention to be held at Pittsburg, they claimed that a quarter of a million workers were asking to be organized outside of the K. of L.; that only seventy-four delegates, representing about fifty-five thousand members, responded to the call; and that all or almost all the delegates came to the convention on street cars, which shows that that convention was nothing else but a Pittsburg movement. After levying an assessment besides the per capita tax the A. F. of L. received, during their first year's existence, about four hundred dollars.

In answer to the charge that the Industrial Workers of the World came into existence through the minds of some intellectuals, the speaker showed that conditions are such that a new form of organization is a necessity, and was inevitable. It had to come, it came. Were not the conference held in Chicago last January it would have been held somewhere else. If the manifesto were not sent out by those who signed, others would have sent out some other kind of manifesto. If the convention were not held in Chicago, it would have been held in some other place.

Continuing, the speaker said: "The Industrial Workers did not come into existence through any plot. It came into existence because of the facts that surround us on every step we take."

"The industrial development of capitalism is such that the working class must have a new weapon to fight with, the old weapon is out of date."

"To meet this new form of organized capital, a new form of unionism was launched."

A question was asked of Simons why so many Socialist party papers were opposed to the I. W. W. This important question was handled by the speaker in every way but the right one. He said that he only knew two Socialist papers, the New York "Worker" and the "Social Democratic Herald," that were opposed to the I. W. W., and they could be honest in their opinion.

When asked if a Socialist could be true to his convictions when, from the political rostrum he tells the workers to carry on their fight on class lines, and at the same time from the same rostrum advises the workers to join an economic organization that is opposed to the idea of the class struggle and fights the Socialist every way possible, this question, like the previous one, was handled badly. Simons said that these editors could be honest, that the papers were theirs and they will change as the sentiment grows in favor of the I. W. W.

The opinion of many that were to this meeting was that a Socialist party man finds it rather hard to answer questions to an I. W. W. meeting.

In a conversation before the meeting opened, the writer asked A. M. Simons what he thought of the capmakers' affair. As far as he was concerned he did not think it worth while to bother about, as they don't give any proof, they merely make a lot of statements. He told the writer that since he got their per-

sonal circular he asked for proof, but had not heard from them since.

We are now making further arrangements for mass meetings to be held at the same hall next month.

At the I. W. W. headquarters the "Industrial Worker" is growing surprisingly fast in subs. The officers say that they never expected such a large number of subscriptions to come in before the paper is started.

Requests for charters are coming in almost daily, some days as high as seven unions requesting charters.

The A. F. of L., with its fight against the W. F. of M., and the capmakers' and machinists' unions, with their fight against the I. W. W. do not stop our growth.

A. Proly.  
Chicago, Ill., December 26.

## TID-BITS FROM MILLS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Business men are not given to taking long chances when they have advertisements inserted in periodicals, their aim is to make the proposition as plain to the general public as possible. This is what Professor Walter Thomas Mills does in the ad, which he inserts in the papers. All must agree that the following is plain and to the point, and bait for suckers and nothing more, just as are the majority of capitalist ads:

"If you want to carry your State, your country or city for Socialism, write to Walter Thomas Mills."

Now, Mills knows that through his agency this can no more be accomplished than it can through mine; but he also knows there are a great many poor confiding fools who will believe it, just as there are those who believe the ads. of the capitalist when he says he will sell an article "below the cost of production."

When Mills was here campaigning for the S. P. he informed Mr. Ernst, president of the Economic Club of the Vine Street Congregational Church, his words follow, as Mr. Ernst repeated them to me: "You do wrong to oppose Judge Dempsey (a capitalist party candidate) in this campaign, the great success of the Socialists of Europe, particularly in Germany, is due to a policy far different, and would be the same as your endorsement of Dempsey."

B. S. Frayne.  
Cincinnati, O., Dec. 29.

## CHICAGO LABOR DEFEATS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The end of the now famous Gilhooley trial is now here. If any one is in doubt as regards to there being two classes in society, he or she could be convinced by just looking at the time it took to find enough men to serve on the jury in this case, and noting how it was conducted. Sixty-six days were taken to pick out a jury that was class conscious, as shown by the time (six hours) it took them to decide and give a verdict against the union men. There were summoned 4,150 venire men, 1,931 of whom were examined.

The Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union, like the Machinists' Union, was carrying on a good fight in their strike, in this city, about a year ago. The capitalists tried their old game of corrupting the labor leaders; that did not do. The Employers' Association took the strike into the courts; and here is where they showed their generalship. Every man summoned, if he showed any sympathy with the working class, was objected to and sent away. No workman was summoned, all were of the other class.

The Employers' Association gave out as their slogan: "That only a legal fight will end strikes when all other means fail," and it did end this strike.

The Employers' Association uses different tactics in different strikes.

In the Carriage and Wagon Makers' strike they used the courts most effectively.

In the Teamsters' strike they used the negro and policemen, besides using the courts now and then, most effectively.

In the machinists' strike they used the A. F. of L. form of organization to defeat the strikers.

In all cases they won. The carriage workers showed good fighting material in this strike, but were betrayed by the A. F. of L. just like all other unions that were promised the whole support of the "great American Federation of Labor," but as usual, did not get it when they needed it, in so bitter a fight.

The A. F. of L. was and is doing with the Carriage and Wagon Workers as it has been and is doing with the Brewery Workers' Union: taking away some craft and weakening instead of strengthening the organization.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, at its next meeting, should adopt some more resolutions, asking the capitalists to have some union men on their juries and should not forget to express their sympathies with the seven union men who are convicted to the "pen."

Some of the officials from the Carriage and Wagon Makers' Union say that if they ever revive this fight they will see that they get out of the A. F.

of L. and join a better organization.

The printers are getting it in this city from the courts in quick succession.

The two years' time given to the bosses by the printers is showing how well the bosses are prepared to fight their employees and how weak the printers are.

It is indeed a sad spectacle to see the printers go out on strike and the book-binders, the pressmen and other employees, all union men and women, remain at work. And with such a form of organization, expect to win.

Yet there are some who say that the I. W. W. is premature.

Three cheers for the Pittsburg I. W. W. stogie makers!

Staten Island weavers: you are next to win.

J. B.  
Chicago, Ill., Dec. 30.

## THE CONDESCENDING "WELFARE" EXPERT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Mr. E. C. Nazaro, welfare manager of the Plymouth Cordage Company, has been engaged by the National Civic Federation as its welfare expert. In a recent speech made by him and published in "Wade's Fibre and Fabric," he goes on to tell how and what he has done to raise the standard of American citizenship; especially of what he has done as welfare manager of the cordage company, for the people that work there, about the houses they have, and how he says he believes that they are aspiring to be more than the machines they work on.

The standard of American citizenship must certainly be advancing very rapidly when the paternalistic methods of welfare managers are required to push it along. Mr. Nazaro's company must employ a very intelligent class of laborers, seeing that they are aspiring to be more than the machines they work on. They certainly must be worthy of the Civic Federation's efforts in their (?) behalf. He ought to induce them to join Sammy Gompers organization. Many workmen have gotten beyond that stage of aspiration. They are aspiring to own collectively the machine they work on and throw the emasculating and paternalistic Nazaros, with their insults and usefulness to capitalism, overboard.

R. W. S.  
Lowell, Mass., January 3.

## HARRIMAN'S "WE SEE PROSPERITY ON EVERY HAND," SUSTAINED ONCE MORE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The following from the San Francisco "Chronicle" of Dec. 26, gives a partial glimpse of working class conditions in the West at the close of 1905, and will serve to emphasize that clause in the Preamble to the I. W. W. constitution, which avows that "there can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life."

B. H. Williams.  
Sacramento, Cal., Dec. 26.

## SALVATION ARMY FEEDS THE POOR.

Many Thousands of Destitute People Are Made Happy by Charity on Christmas Day.

More than 3,000 of the deserving poor were fed by the Salvation Army on Christmas day, over 1,000 meals being delivered to needy families Saturday night, and at least 2,000 persons served with Christmas dinner in "Old Fellows" building, Stevenson and Seventh streets, yesterday at noon. At that hour the line of waiting humanity reached for nearly a block beyond the entrance, and the crowd did not diminish two hours after the opening.

The scene within was one of genuine Christmas cheer. Some 800 helpers, connected with the army, waited on the five long tables that were spread and spread for the hungry hosts. Poor little children with pinched faces that told of privation at home, old women bowed with the weight of years and poverty, men whom sickness or misfortune had rendered unable to provide for themselves, mingled together.

At each place was a Christmas card on which was printed under the motto, "On earth peace, good will to men," the following greeting from Colonel George French, who has the Salvation Army work in charge:

"On behalf of the Salvation Army, we wish you the compliments of the season. May this Christmas be a happy one to you. Keep looking up. God bless you."

Seven hundred pounds of turkey disappeared before the magic of hunger, together with 600 pounds of beef and a great array of celery, vegetables, pie and other regulation constituents of a holiday dinner. The contributions amounted to nearly \$2,000, and most of this was spent in making yesterday a day of plenty to the city's poor. In this estimate is included the expense of provid-

ing a chicken, vegetables, cereals and other provisions enough for a family of five. These were given only to families who were known to the district workers to be poor and deserving. Equal care was taken in distributing tickets to the dinner, though after the ticket-holders had finished a free invitation was given to all to partake of the provisions that were left.

Few people realize the good that is being done by Colonel French and his co-laborers. One needs to witness the hundreds of persons made happy by the rarity of a good dinner to have an adequate idea of the happiness which the wise expenditure of a comparatively small sum of money upon Christmas day occasions. The professional loafer, the charity grabber and all other varieties of the undeserving poor were conspicuous by their absence from yesterday's festivities of the Salvation Army.

## PETER MARTELL.

Section Red Lake County, Red Lake Falls, Minn., in special meeting assembled, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, Peter Martell, a trustworthy and honorable member of our section, together with his whole family, wife and three children, was burned up and destroyed in a fire which occurred on the night of the 15th of December, 1905—a fire whose origin is unknown and remains a sealed mystery, said fire destroying house as well as family; and

Whereas, Peter Martell was in the full vigor of manhood, and of much good to our cause, at the time of his awful death; and had not Peter Martell and his family been living under disadvantages, the result of a vicious and inefficient social system, which made it necessary for him and his family to be cooped up in a death trap, and was the cause of their being cut off from a chance to get out of the burning house, he would have lived many years to continue his good work; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we carry on an unceasing agitation against the capitalist class, which, by robbing labor of the most of what it creates, makes such conditions possible; and, be it further

Resolved, That we extend our sympathy to the friends and relatives of Peter Martell; and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to our Party Press and spread on the minutes of our section.

John Berry, Chairman.  
J. K. Johnson, Committee.

Red Lake Falls, Minn., December 24.

## CONGRATULATIONS

To Sections Bisbee and Spokane, by Section Los Angeles.

Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 28.—To the newly organized sister section of the Socialist Labor Party, Bisbee and Spokane. Comrades:—At the last meeting of Section Los Angeles, Socialist Labor Party, the undersigned was instructed to send congratulations to our sister sections, Bisbee and Spokane, on their success in organizing for the class conscious revolutionary party of the working class, the Socialist Labor Party, stations from which the doctrine of working class emancipation will emanate.

Realizing, too, the stubborn fight put up by our comrades in these strongholds of pure and simple Socialism; we deem it our duty to extend the hand of comradeship, for, having had the same to contend with, we are pleased to see these new stations started and extend our fraternal greeting, and best wishes to these stalwarts.

For Section Los Angeles, Socialist Labor Party.  
Louis C. Haller, Organizer,  
205 1-2 So. Main St. R-9.

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ORGANS

Daily People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York; per year .....\$3.50  
Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade st., New York; per year ..... 50  
Arbetaren (Swedish Weekly), 2-6 New Reade st., New York; per year ..... 1.50  
Der Arbeiter (Jewish Weekly), 2-6 New Reade st., New York; per year ..... 50  
Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung (German Weekly), 193 Columbus st., Cleveland, Ohio; per year ..... 1.00  
Nepakarat (Hungarian Weekly), 157 N. 4th st., New York; per year ..... 1.80  
Ragione Nuova (Italian Monthly), 23 Bond st., Providence, R. I. per year 25

He who comes in contact with workmen reading either of these languages should not fail to call attention to these papers and endeavor to secure subscriptions. Sample copies will be sent upon request. Address each paper as per address given above.

Henry Kuhn,  
2-6 New Reade street, New York.

## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

W. W., SPOKANE, WASH.—Matter received. The labor-licutenants of Belmont, together with their doubles, the pure and simple political Socialists, give the Socialist Labor Party credit for more than it deserves. As well may the worm, that the wayfarer unwittingly crushes under foot on the roads, protest that the wayfarer intrigued and despotized to crush him—as well may that worm do that as the aforesaid gentlemen claim that their bones are being broken by S. L. P. intrigues and bossism. Fact is the S. L. P. goes steadily on its way, and often it learns of the intrigues plotted against it only when the bones of the intriguers and would-be bosses are heard cracking under its feet to the tune of "Intrigue!" "Boss!"

J. M. R., TORONTO, CANADA.—The clause from Marshall's "Economics of Industry" belongs to the category of explanations that are intended to mystify. The only idea that stands out clear in the farrago is that Marxism can find no support in Ricardo. The idea is false. Marx himself quotes Ricardo in the "Poverty of Philosophy" as furnishing the correct foundation for the law of value—labor.

J. C. J., ALLEGHENY, PA.—The Socialist Movement is serious enough, often tragic enough. Deprive it not of its humorous side, nor yourself of the humor it affords. The sight of the pure and simple political Socialists blown to fragments by the logic of their own false foundation, and then wrathfully imputing the trouble to one wicked man is surely droll enough to discount all intended insults.

E. J. B., KNOXVILLE, TENN.—The man who says: "If we Socialists carry the election, and are counted out, then, whether we have an economic organization to back us or not, the people will rise in their might and seat us"—the man who talks that way and stops there leaves unsaid the most important thing that he has in mind. What he has in mind and suppresses is: "In the meantime solve MY Social Question; elect ME to office; let ME solve your Social Question vicariously." Political triumph, without an industrial economic organization ready to take over and carry on production is a flash in the pan.

"UNCERTAIN," BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The conduct which at one time may be right, may be wrong at another. Haste is as bad as excessive caution. A man's own judgment must tell him whether a given time is ripe for war, or rather demands temporizing.

J. H., OSKALOOSA, IA.—The internationality of the Socialist Movement does not mean that the Movement in other countries has precedence of the Movement in this country. The pivot of the Movement in other countries is the Movement there, with the Movements outside of them as collaterals. So is the pivot of the Movement in America the American Movement, with the Movements abroad as collaterals.

S. H., GRANDEVILLE, VT.—"A cheap coat makes a cheap man" is true: the cheapened cost of the workman's necessities of life cheapens the value of his labor-power. But the opposite, which is implied in that anti-free trade maxim, is not true. A dear coat does not necessarily mean a dear man. Other forces come in to affect the law of value. One of those forces is the over-supply of labor. This counteracts the law of value so completely that despite "dearer coats" we are having "cheaper men."

B. F., PATTON, PA.—The only notable abstinence that the capitalist practices is abstinence from paying the workmen for the greater part of their labor. Carnegie, for instance, is almost a total abstainer.

D. P., NEW YORK.—No flim-flamming! There can be no harmony between men but on sound foundation. The only foundation possible for Socialist unity is the sound economic foundation. The experience of the last six years proves that "neutrality" in Unionism is a sham. Socialism is no ostrich. Issues cannot be met by dodging them. Unity on "neutrality" means riot.

M. S., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH—Your questions are too many to be answered all at once in the Letter-Box; they are too closely connected to be answered in separate issues. The ten questions constitute a line of argument, that, although economically defective, merits handling. They will be made the subject of a special article, and thus answered connectedly.

F. D., GOLESBURG, ILL.—Present capitalism is "private" monopoly. Municipalized capitalism is "state" monopoly. Monopoly either way. Socialism means direct ownership de facto by the people. Under direct ownership there is work for all. Improved methods would not dis-

place labor, they would displace hours of work.

F. W., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Hoehn is not alone. He and others are perambulating monuments that deny their own theory. Their theory is that the Trades Union Question does not concern the political party. And yet what are they but the distracted monuments of the opposite theory? They fled from the Socialist Labor Party to escape the Trades Union Question; and now they feel the identical Question drowning them in the Socialist Party, whither they took refuge in the utopian hope of escaping from that burning Question.

G. L. D., CHICAGO, ILL.—In addition to what is said above to E. J. B., Knoxville, Tenn., the S. T. & L. A. did not wreck the S. L. P., it saved the S. L. P. Without sound Unionist foundation a political Movement is bound to go to pot. The proof of both statements is found in the present condition of the S. P. From end to end it admits to be in great trouble. Couldn't be otherwise. It consists of three elements: the "intellectuals" who don't know enough to respect Unionism, and will none of it; the A. F. of L.-ites, who believe you can fakir economically and revolutionize politically; and the I. W. W. men who are revolutionary Unionists. Such a political body is a tub without a bottom.

O. E. N., NORTHAMPTON, MASS.—It is ever thus. There never yet was self-seeking and malicious intrigue in the world but it overreached itself. That is the Tobin-Gompers fix.

B. S., VANCOUVER, B. C.—First—Yes, the sentence should read: "The mass-strike of the Russian workers is economic action for political purpose." As the sentence stands it is false. Second, third and fourth—A referendum vote of the S. L. P. was held in the summer and fall of 1896, upon endorsing the S. T. & L. A. The vote stood 1455 for, 64 against. The tabulated vote on that, and all the other referendums held that year, was published in The People of November 22, 1906.

Fifth—The above disposes of the question whether it was "a clique that got together in New York and had the S. L. P. endorse the S. T. & L. A."

K. J. K., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—The strike of the A. F. of L. capmakers was nominally for the closed shop. The rank and file so believed. The labor leaders of the Union knew better. They ran the strike for private gain. There are in this office two letters, written by rank and file men to the officers during the strike, notifying them of scab work being done with their consent. The letters caused the fakirs to resort to all manner of devices to cover up their tracks.

F. K., NEW YORK.—There you do them injustice. The pure and simple political Socialists probably are sincere in the belief that the Socialist Labor Party was or is "practically wiped out." They are, so visionary that they do not realize that the vote is mere froth compared to the organization and its press. Of course, rude awakenings ever await visionaries.

D. H. W., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The call to organize an independent body of Volkszeitung Corporation Germans appeared in that paper on last December 3. It is there that they call themselves the "back bone" of the Socialist Movement in America.

C. C., PHOENIX, ARIZ.—Whoever wants unity without the I. W. W. as a basis, is—if a lawyer, looking for A. F. of L. law business, and also tripping his sails for I. W. W. law business, and general shysterism in the Labor Movement;—if an A. F. of L. man, under the impression that society can be revolutionized behind his back;—if an "intellectual," looking for notoriety;—and if a clean-minded and clean-headed man, good material for education.

C. H. C., SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Matter received. Will be published next week.

D. E. M., NEW YORK.—There are other respects, besides, in which the Volkszeitung Corporation has hurt the Movement. In pursuit of its idle expectation that the S. L. P. could be howled and growled out of existence it encouraged a number of youngsters to believe that they were profound scholars in Socialism. The vanity of these was tickled. The result is that their good parts were stunted, they ceased reading and studying, and they developed into impudent whipper-snappers. Thus young men who might have developed into able men were lost to themselves and the Movement.

J. W., NEW YORK.—Yes, indeed, the Russian Revolution is an example—and also a warning to us and a guide what to avoid, and how to improve upon methods.

J. M. H., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—No (Continued on page 6.)



# NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The regular semi-annual meeting of the National Executive Committee S. L. P., having been called to order by the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn, at 9.30 a. m., on Sunday, January 7th, 1906, and a quorum under the Constitution being present, David J. Moran, of Rhode Island, was elected to the chair and P. C. Christiansen, of Ohio, was chosen Recording Secretary.

There were present with proper credentials: Thomas F. Brennan, for Massachusetts; Ulrich Frueh, for New Jersey; Chas. J. Mercer, for Connecticut; John J. Kinnally, for New York; David J. Moran, for Rhode Island, and P. C. Christiansen, of Ohio.

Not present, but reported by their respective State Executive Committees, and proper credentials filed: Duncan B. McEachern, for Illinois; Charles Becker, for Maryland; Olive M. Johnson, for California; J. C. Anderson, for Washington; A. S. Dowler, for Texas; Theodore Bernise, for Indiana, and Herman Richter, for Michigan.

The Virginia State Executive Committee reported that they have two candidates in the field, and that the election will take place on Jan. 21st, after which date report will be made.

The following States sent no report, and their Executive Committees are herewith ordered to make report and to file credentials and pledges: Colorado, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

The order of business adopted was: Correspondence, Report of Committees, Unfinished Business, New Business.

The minutes of the meeting held last July were adopted as read.

Correspondence: Numerous letters were read from members of the N. E. C. bearing upon the objections raised by Comrade P. F. Janko, of Indianapolis, against patent medicine advertisements published in the Party Press; also two circulars, one a copy of the first letter sent by Comrade Janko on the subject as well as an answer thereto by the N. E. C. Sub-Committee; also a second letter by Comrade Janko, expressing regret at the intemperate language used by him in the first.

The letters from the members of the N. E. C., fifteen in number, expressed a variety of opinions, and were classified into two categories. Eight were against the general position taken by Comrade Janko, while the remaining seven favor the position taken by Comrade Janko in whole or in part, one of the latter, that of the Virginia member, endorsing the Janko letter in substance. After due consideration of the entire matter it was decided that the management of the Party Press be instructed, before accepting future medical advertisements, to first consult a medical expert in the Party.

Several letters were read from Comrade Granville F. Lombard of Boston, Mass., relating to the non-publication in The People of an article by himself, entitled, "The Hen, the Egg, the Chicken, or the Most Vital Principle of Socialist Organization Discussed," also a set of resolutions by Section Boston, Mass., favoring the publication of said article; also the article itself and a statement by the Editor of The People written at the time to the local Press Committee of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee and explaining why, in the editorial judgment, the article in question should not be published. After due consideration of the entire matter it was decided that the Editor be sustained in declining the publication of the said article, and that the National Secretary be instructed to convey to Section Boston, in answer to their resolutions, a brief statement, adopted by the N. E. C.

The order of business was then suspended to give the floor to a committee of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation, who presented to the N. E. C. a proposition to turn over to the Party the property of the Swedish organ "Arbetaren" for the purpose of vesting said property in the National organization of the S. L. P. and thus secure, for all future time, the tactical position of the paper. The N. E. C. favored the proposition, and after discussing the matter in all its bearing, especially its legal aspects, it was decided to lay the matter over until the next meeting of the N. E. C. In July of the current year, for final action the N. E. C. Sub-Committee in the meantime to make an investigation and ascertain the several points involved.

A lengthy communication from Comrade Melko Meyer of Detroit, Mich., the outgoing N. E. C. member of that State, was read and also one from Comrade Herman Richter, its present N. E. C. member. The letter of Comrade Meyer objected to the stand taken by the Party Press in the matter of the I. W. W., taking the position that there was no warrant for it in either the platform or the Constitution of the Party and referring also to several points that were to be made in a letter that the new N. E. C. member, Herman Richter, had been

instructed to communicate. The Richter letter contained these points, one urging the speedy publication of the proceedings of the last National Convention of the S. L. P., the other that the N. E. C. express itself, whether statements made at the Chicago Convention of the I. W. W., are in accord with the teachings of the S. L. P. The statements referred to are: One taken from a speech by W. D. Haywood as follows: "Those of us, who have studied conditions in this country recognize the fact that up to the launching of this organization there was not a labor organization in this country that represented the working class"; the other, taken from a speech by Daniel DeLeon, reads: "I hope and believe, that this convention will bring together those who will plant themselves squarely upon the class struggle and will recognize the fact that the political expression of labor is but the shadow of the economic organization." It was decided that, in regard to the first statement, quoted above, it being purely an allegation of facts, an expression as asked for is unnecessary and that as to the second if considered in its proper context this committee does not see that the utterance quoted is in conflict with the general position of the Party.

The floor was then given to the Auditing Committee for report on the finances of the Party institutions, the books having been closed on Saturday, Jan. 6th. The report was received, discussed, a number of questions asked the committee and they were then instructed to prepare a report for publication to the membership and to have the same ready not later than Feb. 16, 1906.

The Texas member of the N. E. C., in a communication, conveyed the request of a member of Section San Antonio that the figures of the Party's vote given in The People at the head of the editorial column be eliminated in future, for the reason that they are not an accurate gauge of the strength of the Socialist sentiment in the land. It was held by the committee that these figures shall be continued.

A communication from several members of Section Los Angeles, Cal., was referred by the Editor of The People to the committee. It aimed at the discussion as to whether or not a National Convention of the Party shall be held this year to which all revolutionary Socialists be invited. The ideas presented were considered untimely from first to last and it was decided to instruct the Editor not to publish the communication.

The California member of the N. E. C. sent a complete report of the conditions in that State, making several suggestions which were referred to the N. E. C. Sub-Committee, and asking for information in regard to Massachusetts, which the Massachusetts member of the N. E. C. was deputed to supply.

Comrade W. W. Cox, of St. Louis, Mo., suggested in a communication a plan to keep in the field in the Middle West an "emergency organizer." The matter was discussed at some length and finally referred to the N. E. C. Sub-Committee. Relative to the call of the International Socialist Bureau, for world-wide demonstrations on Jan. 22, it was decided that the N. E. C. of the S. L. P. heartily endorses the call of said bureau for mass meetings of all Socialist revolutionary organizations to be held on Jan. 22, in commemoration of the St. Petersburg "Bloody Sunday" and to aid financially the proletariat of Russia in its noble struggle for freedom.

The following were elected to serve on the N. E. C. Sub-Committee for the coming year: Timothy Walsh of Section Queens County; Julius Eck of Section Hoboken; William Teichlauf, Anders Anderson, Frank E. Coddington and Edward C. Schmidt of Section Kings County; Peter Jacobson of Section Westchester County; Arvid Olson of the Scandinavian Section New York; Charles C. Crawford, Rudolph Kats, Adam Moren, Eugene Fischer and Max Heyman of Section New York County, and Christian J. Wolf and Jacob Schwenck of Section South Hudson, N. J.

After a general discussion on the subject of the publication of Party literature and the raising of funds therefor, which the members of the N. E. C. who were present undertook to take in hand, the Committee adjourned.

P. C. Christiansen, Rec. Secy.

## N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

The last meeting of the outgoing sub-committee was held Friday evening, January 5, 1906, at 2 to 6 New Reade street, New York.

Present: Anderson, Crawford, Eck, Hossack, Jacobson, Lochner, Olson, Teichlauf and Walsh. Absent with excuse: Moren, Bahnsen, Gillhaus, Donohue. Absent without excuse: Kats, Burke.

Jacobson, Chairman.

Financial report for week ending De-

cember 16: Receipts, \$38.60; expenses, \$58.00; for week ending December 23: Receipts, \$81.48, expenses, \$22.90; for week ending December 30: Receipts, \$227.66, expenses, \$239.94.

Correspondence: Duncan, Organizer Section Spokane, have opened headquarters, 27 members, outlook good. Haller, Los Angeles, on Pacific Coast circuit plans; R. W. Stevens, Baltimore, local of Socialist party asks S. L. P. co-operation in holding January 23rd meeting; O. M. Johnson, N. E. C. member, California, on the state movement there. Envin, Philadelphia, on local matters; Schnabel, Milwaukee, on corrupt tactics of S. P. intellectuals. Organizer Maiorana, Houston, Tex., \$5 for agitation fund, anxious to have organizer sent there. From Bohn, Missoula, Mont., says the I. W. W. is steadily plowing its way through, and is gaining the upper hand, despite freaks and fakirs. From Meiko Meyer, Detroit, on various matters, and saying he is in bad health.

National Committeemen Schade, of Virginia, Schmutz, Kentucky, and Johnson, California, on Janke advertising protest.

Sections Minneapolis, Minn., New Britain, Conn., and E. St. Louis, Ill., report election of officers. From J. Pickering, Roslyn, Wash., surrendering Section charter, present conditions being unfavorable for maintenance of the Section, and expressing hope of re-organization.

From General Organizer Veal, Newport News and other points in Virginia. At Reanoke railroad machinists warned to keep away from meetings. Held meeting at shop gates. At street meeting the street blocked and Veal taken by police but released. I. W. W. agitation making the fakirs feel shaky, seeing that S. L. P. men are active in the movement, the fakirs are scheming against them in the shop. Sold thirty-one pamphlets in the market square. At one place a committee of fifteen men, members of the A. F. of L. invited Veal to address their organization on Industrial Unionism. When he reached the place he could find but one of the committee and no meeting. Word had been given not to hold the meeting and Veal found that an official of the machinists was camping on his trail, but nevertheless the outlook for I. W. W. is good in Virginia.

General Organizer Gillhaus reports from Scranton, Pa. At Elmira, N. Y., a wood-working concern that located there to get away from labor troubles, now find that their product is "unfair" in New York and other cities, and are forcing their men into the unions.

At Altoona, Pa., Pennsylvania Railroad, shop town, the workers dare not show their faces at meetings because the loss of jobs means leave the town, and some of them "own" a patch on a "home."

From Markley, Braddock, Pa., advising the arrival of Veal and Gillhaus in the Pittsburgh district. Markley says there is plenty of work there for both men to do. S. L. P. men who are active in I. W. W. agitation are being daily called in "on the carpet" and warned to quit their agitation for I. W. W. This shows the need for better support of the General Fund.

J. W. Johnson has been elected Secretary of the Minnesota S. E. C., in place of H. Edwards, resigned. From H. Richter, Detroit, A. S. Dowler, Finlay, Tex., H. O'Neill, Providence, John Kenny, Lawrence, Mass., on general party matters. From F. Ball, Paterson, N. J., about transferring to General Agitation Fund an amount due him by the Daily People. Secretary instructed to proceed as suggested by Comrade Ball. From G. A. Jennings, Secretary Illinois S. E. C., reported change of address, and inclosing two transfer cards presented by members of Section Roslyn, Wash.

R. W. Stevens, Baltimore, tells of a lady speaker of the S. P., her first name he did not learn, but the last part is Reeves-Cohen, who said she was from New York, lecturing there recently on Child Labor. A member of the S. P. local asked her a question pertaining to the economic movement, and for answer she said she was not out on trade union agitation. She said she was at Debs' New York meetings, that they were used by the S. L. P. to boost De Leon, but that it was a frost for De Leon, that Debs was the whole show and when he finished the crowd quickly left, leaving De Leon to speak to empty chairs. She explained the I. W. W. movement as the work of the sly, old fox De Leon, and that the Socialist party men in the eastern States say that De Leon is trying to achieve prominence in the labor movement at the expense of Debs, and to disrupt the Socialist party.

Stevens also asks if she was not the wife of a man who intrigued with Julian Pierce in 1902 for the job of business manager of The People and Labor News, and who when the intrigue failed left the party together with Selig Schnabel. National Secretary was instructed to advise Comrade Stevens that he had the facts correct with regard to Mrs. Cohen, and that her first name is Ella.

Party Press Committee reported that business management is getting out publications as fast as finances will permit. Recommends that as cost of producing pamphlets, and paying of transportation, allows too slight a margin of profit to carry on the work at this end, that price of all pamphlets, in quantities, be advanced from \$3 per hundred to \$3.50. Concurred in, and new price to take effect February 1, next. Subscriptions to the Weekly People are coming in slowly. Every party member should bestir himself to push the Weekly People.

Election of N. E. C. members reported as follows: New Jersey, Ulrich Frueh; Illinois, Duncan B. McEachern; Maryland, Charles Becker; Ohio, P. C. Christiansen; California, O. M. Johnson; Connecticut, Chas. J. Mercer; Massachusetts, Thos. B. Brennan.

## SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, S. L. P.

From the week ending June 24, 1905, to the week ending December 30, 1905:

| RECEIPTS:                                  |            |
|--|------------|
| By balance on hand, June 24, 1905          | \$ 248.41  |
| " dues stamps                              | 624.65     |
| " supplies                                 | 19.03      |
| " Amsterdam Congress assessment            | 29.80      |
| " N. A. F., old 1904 Massachusetts account | 51.04      |
| " General Agitation Fund                   | 1,271.80   |
| " Russian Revolutionists' Fund             | 166.75     |
| " charter fees                             | 8.00       |
| " loan returned                            | 4.00       |
| " funds returned by speakers               | 138.20     |
| Total                                      | \$2,561.68 |

| EXPENDITURES:  |            |
|--|------------|
| To salary of National Secretary, 27 weeks                | \$ 486.00  |
| " current expenses, postage, expressage, etc.            | 106.87     |
| " agitation, speakers and organizers                     | 1,197.84   |
| " office rent  | 105.00     |
| " printing   | 46.50      |
| " office expenses  | 4.50       |
| " Russian Revolutionists' Fund, Geneva & Brussels Bureau | 189.67     |
| " dues, International Socialist Bureau                   | 38.70      |
| " loan to Daily People                                   | 50.00      |
| " collection fee on returned check                       | 1.30       |
| Total  | \$2,226.38 |
| Balance on hand, Dec. 30.                                | 335.30     |
| Total  | \$2,561.68 |

Julius Eck, Treasurer,  
N. E. C. Sub-Committee.  
A. L. Zimmermann,  
A. C. Kihn,  
Paul Augustine,  
John T. Vaughan,  
—Auditors.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.  
Teichlauf, Walsh and Olson were elected a committee to meet the New National Executive Committee at its session of January 7, 1906.  
John Hossack, Recording Secretary.

## LETTER BOX.

(Continued from page five.)  
challenge was ever received by De Leon from I. Hourwitz, or anyone else, to debate Marx. If any such challenge had been made it would have been published in these columns with De Leon's answer attached.

F. R. PATERSON, N. J.—The point has been amply covered in these columns. The arguments have been stated in extenso. The political movement is not worth crossing the street for, unless backed up by the industrially organized Working Class. Assertions to the contrary won't do. Trot out arguments if you have any.

S. P. MELROSE, MINN.—With all charity for the memory of the martyrs of the Paris Commune, their move was in the nature of a craft Union strike. It was Paris alone, with the rest of France lying supine.

A. K. MILWAUKEE, WIS.—For instance—When The People published the New Bedford address "What Means This Strike?" and the S. L. P. put it in pamphlet form, objections went up from the Volkszeitung Corporation ring that the address "deals entirely with the economic and not at all with the political movement." Particularly loud in his objection was one of the set, a worthy named Loewentrop, or some such name. These people are so ignorant that they fail to see the economic foundation of political organization: they never digested Marx. And they are so vicious that they turn and seek to rend whomsoever knows better. Of course, their petty selfish interests stand in the way of their seeing. They simply don't belong to the Socialist Movement of America.

S. Y. TERRE HAUTE, IND.—All that Belmont asks of you is to be blind. He will see to the rest.  
H. S. I. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—When

the workman annuls his marriage with the Volkszeitung party, and the concern starts calling him names, the workman should sing out to the concern the words of the genial Sam Weller: "The wery best intentions, as the gen'l'm'n said ven he run away from his wife 'cos she seemed unhappy with him." M. L. AND H. D., NEW YORK—You are right. The People erred when it said that "both 'The Worker' and 'Volkszeitung' refused publication to the sworn answer which the I. W. W. capmakers published." The sentence should read: "Both 'The Worker' and 'Volkszeitung' refused publication to the signed letter, by the national organizer of the I. W. W., of the anonymous charges made by the A. F. of L. capmakers; and 'The Worker' also refused publication to the sworn answer which the I. W. W. capmakers published." Thanks for calling our attention to the inaccuracy, trifling, though it is.

J. P. NEW YORK—"In case the capitalist class disfranchise the people?" How you talk! Why, the people are disfranchised now. Ask Hearst.  
J. J. M., COYTESVILLE, N. J.; M. L. NEW YORK; J. Y. HELENA, MONT.; A. W. OXFORD, ENG.; A. C. DES MOINES, IA.; M. R. NEWPORT NEWS, VA.; D. C. CHICAGO; R. R. LAMASTINE, COLO.; G. W. T. UTICA, N. Y.; F. B. MISUOLA, MONT.; E. R. M. PITTSBURG, PA.; C. B. SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—Matter received.

## RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS' FUND.

During the week ending with January 6, 1906, the following contributions were received to the above fund:

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| M. Rosenberg, Newport News, Va.   | \$ 5.00  |
| A. Orange, New York   | 2.00     |
| W. H. Slater, Newport News, Va.   | 10.00    |
| Albert Wanz, Superior, Wis.   | 2.00     |
| W. H. Thomas, Buena Vista, Pa.  | 5.00     |
| John Magny, New York (day's wages), Collected at 1570 Broadway, N. Y. per Schwartz  | 5.50     |
| J. Wohl, Kingston, N. Y.  | 1.00     |
| Mrs. Lucas, Rockaway, N. J.   | 2.00     |
| Frank Delmastro, New Haven, Conn.   | 2.00     |
| "The Lotto Players," N. Y., per Benj. Lipseth   | .25      |
| J. E. Brooklyn, N. Y. (day's wages)   | 2.00     |
| W. Shurtliff, N. Y.   | 2.00     |
| "H." Local 67, I. W. W., Jersey City, N. J.   | 2.50     |
| H. G. Donohue, New York   | .50      |
| B. Jensen, Bull Frog, Nev.  | 2.00     |
| Local Union 1011, Brotherhood of Painters & Decorators, collection as follows:—A. Wilner, H. Solomon, H. Flaun, Issie Gevertz, W. Herman, H. Gevertz, H. Soskel, L. Grooner, B. Keller, S. Lifschitz, J. Ruben, Ike Fischer, S. Borinick, M. Okstein, S. Herman, H. Ablofe, Issie Saxe, J. Darlinger, Issie Idgal, Joly Groyer, J. Jonett, M. Schreiber, H. Siegel, Sam Rasnick, M. Wolper, Abe Subelsky, Meyer Solomon, each \$1; Louis Foner, 50; other names the list of which was lost, \$11; total | \$3.50   |
| Fred H. Brune, Brooklyn, N. Y.  | 5.00     |
| L. Katz, Philadelphia, Pa.  | 3.00     |
| Minneapolis, Minn.—J. A. Walya, \$2; G. Johnson, \$2; Joe Magel, 50c; total   | 4.50     |
| S. B. Cowles, Sand Lake, Mich.  | 2.00     |
| East St. Louis, Ill.—John Bloemasma, \$2; Louis Brennenma, \$2; G. A. Jennings, \$1; Harry Bloemasma, \$1; Ben Frankford, \$2; total  | 8.00     |
| P. Colditz, Paterson, N. J.   | 1.00     |
| Part proceeds of entertainment and fair arranged by Brooklyn Ladies' Auxiliary  | 104.00   |
| John Raymond, Snoqualmie, Wash.   | 1.00     |
| John Vantassel, Valhalla, N. Y.   | 1.00     |
| T. McPhillips, Peekskill, N. Y.   | 5.00     |
| Edward Schade, Newport News, Va.  | 3.00     |
| C. Singer, Pittsburg, Pa.   | 1.00     |
| John Sweeney, Hoboken, N. J.  | 1.00     |
| James M. Harkow, Brooklyn, N. Y.  | 1.00     |
| Total   | \$221.25 |
| Previously acknowledged   | 307.44   |
| Grand total   | \$528.49 |

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

## CLEVELAND SMOKER.

For a jolly good time don't fail to attend the first grand smoker given by Section Cleveland, S. L. P., on Saturday evening, January 27, at Section Hall, 356 Ontario street, top floor (German-American Bank Building). First class program, good musical and singing acts. Good wrestling and bag punching exhibitions. Refreshments served free. Program will begin at 7.30 sharp. Admission tickets at the price of twenty-five cents can be had from all members.

# The Industrial Worker

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Will be published by the I. W. W. about January 1st, 1906  
A Monthly Paper, sixteen pages, 64 columns.

Subscription Price:

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR

Address THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

148 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

## SECTION CALENDAR.

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205 1/2 South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workings invited. Business meetings every Tuesday.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Section Indianapolis. Meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month, at 29 1/2 South Delaware street, third floor.

Detroit, Mich., "Socialist Labor Auxiliary" Reading Room, room 10 avenue Theatre Bldg., Woodward avenue. Open every evening, Sunday all day. Discussion upon interesting topics every Sunday. Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 358 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, 8 p. m., at Smith's Hall, 21st and Franklin ave., 3rd floor.

Spokane, Wash., Socialist Labor Party Headquarters, Free Reading Room, 217 Front avenue.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second the day, third the year.

## CHICAGO, ATTENTION!

To all readers of the Weekly People and the S. L. P. organs, residing in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 20th, and 30th wards, and the towns of Stickney and Lemont, arouse and help increase the circulation of the Weekly People and help show up the hand of the tin horn gamblers, lawyers, preachers, and middle class freaks that pose as Socialists; and, in their organs the "Chicago Socialist" and "Neues Leben," uphold the A. F. of H.—and its capitalist labor lieutenants. If you are ripe to join the S. L. P., please communicate with M. E. Kleininger, 4514 Lake avenue, Chicago, Ill.

## HELP THIS ALONG.

Data is wanted on corporation methods in securing franchises, including evidences of bribery, collusion, evasion of taxes, stealings, etc. Newspaper clippings especially desirable. Kindly send such information to F. J. Boyle, Mailing Division, Boston P. O., Mass.

## GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

The contributions to the above fund, designed to keep in the field S. L. P. organizers, were as follows during the week ending with Saturday, January 6, 1906:

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| W. H. Slater, Newport News, Va.                     | \$ 5.00    |
| Albert Wanz, Superior, Wis.                         | 2.00       |
| W. W. Devore, Montrose, Colo.                       | 5.00       |
| Frank Delmastro, New Haven, Conn.                   | 2.00       |
| John Begovich, San Pedro, Cal.                      | 1.50       |
| L. Katz, Philadelphia, Pa.                          | .25        |
| John Raymond, Snoqualmie, Wash.                     | 1.00       |
| Section Kalamazoo, Mich., collected during December | 3.15       |
| B. Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y.                        | 2.00       |
| R. O. Ottam, Hedley, B. C.                          | .45        |
| Total   | \$22.35    |
| Previously acknowledged                             | \$2,050.13 |
| Grand total   | \$2,072.48 |

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

## DEBS' GREAT SPEECH

THE SPEECH ON INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, DELIVERED DECEMBER 10, 1905, BY EUGENE V. DEBS, AT GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, WAS STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED AND WILL APPEAR IN THE WEEKLY PEOPLE, COMPLETE IN THE ISSUE OF JANUARY 20, 1906.

THIS SPEECH WAS ENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED BY A CROWDED HOUSE, WHICH NOT ONLY APPLAUDED, BUT GAVE NEAR \$150 IN COLLECTION TO DEFRAY EXPENSES OF THE MEETING. SO GREAT WAS THE INTEREST AROUSED ON THE TOPIC OF THE SPEAKER'S ADDRESS, THAT 535 FIVE CENT PAMPHLETS: ADDRESS ON PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W. WERE SOLD.

YOU SHOULD READ THIS GREAT SPEECH BY EUGENE V. DEBS. ORDER THE WEEKLY PEOPLE AT ONCE. FOR PURPOSES OF DISTRIBUTION WE WILL MAIL 5 TO 100 COPIES TO ONE ADDRESS AT THE RATE OF ONE CENT PER COPY; 100 TO 500 COPIES, 75c PER 100; OVER 500 COPIES, 1/2 CENT PER COPY.

WEEKLY PEOPLE,  
P. O. BOX 1576,  
NEW YORK.

## SLANG TERMS

MAY NOT BE ELEGANT BUT OFTEN ARE EXPRESSIVE.

"Up to the Minute," for instance, is keener, quicker, than to say keeping abreast of the times.

But whichever you may prefer, we would say that to be up-to-date on what is going on in the world of Labor, one must read the

## DAILY PEOPLE

We are improving it all the time. Try it for Three Months.

ONE DOLLAR PAYS THE BILL.  
ADDRESS: DAILY PEOPLE,  
P. O. Box 1576,  
New York.

## BALTIMORE I. W. W. MEETINGS.

Local 216, I. W. W., has arranged two mass meetings with Wm. E. Trautmann, General Secretary-Treasurer, as the speaker. Subject, Industrial Unionism. Both meetings will be held at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 1011-1013 E. Baltimore street, the first in German, on Jan. 16; the second in English, on Jan. 17. Come and bring your friends. Make these meetings a success.

## PHILADELPHIA I. W. W. MEETINGS.

Saturday evening, Jan. 13, at Labor Lyceum, 6th and Brown.

Sunday, evening, Jan. 14, at Sheridan Hall, 44th and Lancaster avenue.

Monday evening, Jan. 15, at Kensington Labor Lyceum, 2nd and Cambria.

First meeting in German, last two in English. Speaker, W. E. Trautmann, of Chicago.

## P